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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

The Opportunity of Scarcity

Educational systems in industrialized nations are being confronted, often simultaneously, with four kinds of *scarcity*: scarcity of resources, scarcity of students, scarcity of authority and influence, and scarcity of public confidence. Emerging evidence suggests that this condition will be a *long-term* one which requires *different* responses from those to which conditions of growth have habituated us.

The challenge of scarcity to educators is to view it as an opportunity for renewal at every level of operation from classroom to council chamber, and in every sector from early childhood through adult education. For scarcity creates the need for change—to clarify purposes and to determine what to keep doing, what to do differently, what to stop doing, what to start doing. Momentum is generated for reforms that would otherwise be impossible to implement. The outcome can be a more coherent match between purposes, programs and resources; so that the resources support the programs, the programs achieve the purposes, and the purposes mobilize the resources.

This process of renewal highlights the importance of gaining and using better knowledge about what policies and practices help to achieve the desired, frequently competing, objectives of effectiveness, efficiency and equity. And bettering knowledge is what research is all about. In a time of growth, however, the impact of research was not immediate or direct. Will its impact be any different in a time of scarcity? Perhaps.

Perhaps . . . if research addresses the pervasive scarcity-inspired issues of the day with a view to sharpening perceptions, stimulating discussion and encouraging questioning. Among these issues are: rethinking the purposes of schooling and education, assessing the meaning and measures of performance for individuals, programs and organizations; examining the rationale underlying current policies and practices; identifying emerging needs and responses to them.

Perhaps . . . if research also enhances the "know-how" of practitioners and policy-makers. For both groups, the use of research is optional and their major motivation is to be successful. They will use research when it helps them understand and cope with their scarcity-related problems. Fortunately, our relatively new-found skills in evaluation research, naturalistic methods and policy studies put us in a stronger position than in the past to gain and offer insights and information about such context-specific concerns.

Perhaps the gap between research and practice in education, and between research and policy, can be closed—at least a little. Scarcity gives us a good opportunity to try. The extent of our success will probably be reflected in the support accorded research in the future.

WHW

G. PATRICK O'NEILL

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Self, Teacher and Faculty Assessments of Student Teaching Performance: A Second Scenario

This article is the second of a two part series dealing with relationships of performance assessments for student teachers among three rater groups, namely, self, academic supervisors and field supervisors. The first study (Wheeler & Knoop, 1982) found that student teachers' self-evaluations were significantly higher than either academic or field supervisory ratings. A further split by panel (elementary versus secondary) did not substantially alter the original findings. However, a split by gender (female versus male student teachers) did, in fact, produce some unexpected results that were not accounted for in the first study. Specifically, there was a significant amount of agreement between female student teachers and both sets of supervisors, but practically no agreement between male student teachers and their supervisors. Possible reasons for these findings are presented along with implications for present practice and future research.

The last ten years have seen many changes in teacher evaluation.¹ In particular, the focus has shifted from superordinate to other types of evaluation, including student, peer and self. Numerous books and articles on the topic of self-evaluation (Bailey, 1981; Brophy, 1976; Crim, 1974; Lewis, 1978; Olds, 1973; Pinola, 1982; Redfern, 1980; Richardson, 1975; Siedow, 1981)² have stirred the imagination of practitioners, so much so, that the practice is now being informally encouraged in many school systems in both Canada and the United States. In other systems, self-assessments have become integral components of performance objectives or clinical supervision models.³

At the same time, self-evaluation has been recommended as part of a systems theory approach to supervision in colleges and faculties of education (Bohning, 1978; Gitlin, 1981; Myers, 1973; Sanders, 1974; Shapiro, 1977). Soon such proposals will have to be taken seriously as more and more school systems adopt diversified forms of appraisal. In fact, self-evaluation skills could be easily introduced in

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courses related to accountability and professionalism, and later implemented in microteaching and field related experiences. Still, the area remains muddled due largely to confusion generated by armchair speculation, personal bias or time-honored tradition. Skeptics, for instance, frequently argue vociferously against the concept on the tenuous grounds that student teachers are too immature or too inexperienced to make realistic self-assessments.

Matters are further confounded by a paucity of empirical investigations in the field which unfortunately have rendered conflicting results. On the one hand, for instance, Chiu (1975) and Pease (1975) found that student teachers did not, as a rule, have distorted perceptions of their teaching abilities. In other words, student self-ratings and supervisory ratings were strongly correlated. On the other hand, Wheeler and Knoop (1982) found that student teachers continually overrated their performance in relation to both academic (college faculty advisors) and field supervisors (experienced classroom teachers).⁴

Differences in research design, sampling procedures and instrumentation may have accounted for some of the discrepancies. More importantly, though, Wheeler and Knoop (1982) failed to consider two crucial factors. The first is grade level (elementary versus secondary student teachers) and the second is gender (female versus male students). Both Chiu (1975) and Pease (1975) sampled only elementary candidates, and most respondents were female. In contrast, Wheeler and Knoop (1982) maintained a balanced student teacher representation in terms of both panel (grade level) and gender. This distinction naturally raises a very interesting question, one that asks: Could so-called differences in rater groups be attributed to the unequal distribution of student teachers' characteristics in the works cited?

The purpose of this investigation is to examine this question, first as it relates to elementary versus secondary student teachers, and second, as it relates to female versus male student teachers. Specifically, first by panel and second by gender, the research questions become: (1) Do elementary and secondary student teacher self-ratings generally agree with supervisory ratings? (2) Do elementary or secondary student teacher self-ratings agree more closely with ratings made by academic or by field supervisors? (3) Do academic supervisors assess elementary and secondary student teacher performance in the same way as field supervisors? (4) Do female or male student teacher self-ratings agree more closely with ratings made by academic or by field supervisors? (5) Do academic supervisors assess female and male student teacher performance in the same way as field supervisors?

Methodology

Data Collection

The sample consisted of 47 preservice students in a small Ontario university. Two counseling groups (O'Neill, 1983), one elementary (23 candidates) and one secondary (24 candidates) were chosen to participate in the study. Initially, confounding effects were presumably minimized by maintaining a balanced distribution of female (25) and male (22) candidates within the two panels. Both counseling groups were staffed by three faculty advisors (counselors) who stayed with the groups throughout a series of carefully orchestrated activities, including practice teaching.

The *Performance Improvement Guide* (Knoop, 1980) was administered to all students in the second semester at the end of a three-week practice-teaching block. All students by this time had accumulated seven weeks of practice-teaching experience. Independent ratings on student teachers were obtained from respective field (N=47) and faculty (N=6) supervisors immediately after the same practice-teaching session. Instructions to the three rater groups explained reasons for the study

and carefully stressed that this evaluation was entirely separate from, and independent of, the normal assessment procedures employed by the institution. Anonymity was guaranteed to all participants prior to administration of the *Guide*.

Instrumentation

The *Performance Improvement Guide* consists of 78 statements which are grouped into seven categories: Instruction (18 items), Student Relations (18 items), Learning Climate (6 items), Curriculum (8 items), Relations to Peers and Principal (8 items), Professional Qualities (12 items), and Personal Qualities (8 items). Candidates were asked to rate their own performance and associate teachers and faculty advisors were asked, in turn, to rate the performance of each candidate on a six-point scale ranging from: (1) strongly disagree to (6) strongly agree. A no-data option (0) was provided for raters who lacked sufficient information to assess performance on a particular item. Sample items include:

(1) Instruction:

1. Plans and organizes effectively for teaching
12. Generally adjusts the "difficulty level of instruction" to the ability of the students

(2) Student Relations:

27. Is fair, forgiving and objective in dealing with students
33. Generally does not have discipline problems in his/her classes

(3) Learning Climate:

38. Provides a relaxed and enjoyable atmosphere in which students can learn and interact
40. Provides a physical setting which is attractive and interesting

(4) Curriculum:

45. Chooses activities that correspond to course objectives
50. Evaluates the effectiveness of his/her courses in meeting the needs and interests of all students

(5) Relations to Peers and Principal:

54. Cooperates with fellow teachers by sharing ideas and methods of instruction
58. Is friendly and supportive to the principal

(6) Professional Qualities:

62. Is open to constructive criticism
69. Maintains a normal range of self-control and emotional stability under stress

(7) Personal Qualities:

72. Is enthusiastic
78. Often serves as a model for his/her students

Data concerning the reliability and validity of the instrument have proven it to be consistent over time and accurate in measuring what it purports to measure. For example, Cronbach-alpha reliability coefficients, on the present sample, range from a low of .71 (instruction) to a high of .95 (Relations to Peers and Principal) (Knoop, 1980). As well, the instrument has been shown to possess adequate convergent and content validity (Wheeler & Knoop, 1982).

Data Analysis

Several analyses were conducted to fulfill the objectives of the study. First, mean scores were calculated for each category within the *Guide* and for overall performance. Second, t-tests were performed to determine specific differences between the three pairs of rater groups. And third, Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to assess the degree of congruence between rater groups for male and female student teachers.

Results

The first research question examines the degree of consistency between elementary and secondary student teacher self-ratings and the two sets of supervisory ratings. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the findings for both the elementary and secondary panels respectively. Results show that, with one exception, both elementary and secondary candidates accorded themselves higher mean self-ratings than either

TABLE 1
MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-TESTS FOR ELEMENTARY
SELF, ASSOCIATE AND FACULTY RATINGS OF STUDENT
TEACHING PERFORMANCE (N=23)

Category	Self		Associate		Faculty		t-values		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	Self/ Associate	Self/Faculty	Associate/ Faculty
(1) Instruction	5.36	.40	4.93	.82	5.05	.59	2.83*	2.69*	0.90
(2) Student Relations	5.48	.34	5.10	.67	5.01	.49	2.79*	4.73***	0.76
(3) Learning Climate	5.53	.36	5.01	.89	4.68	.76	3.00*	4.91***	1.47
(4) Curriculum	5.51	.39	4.86	.84	5.00	.58	3.89***	4.06***	1.04
(5) Relations to Peers and Principal	5.60	.77	5.64	.74	5.19	.77	.24	2.46*	5.00***
(6) Professional Qualities	5.77	.23	5.55	.58	5.10	.76	1.98	4.62***	3.74***
(7) Personal Qualities	5.83	.24	5.61	.70	5.00	.71	1.51	5.79***	4.82***
Overall Performance	5.58	.27	5.24	.66	5.02	.60	2.70*	5.30***	2.17*

* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$

their associate teachers or faculty advisors. The one exception is between self and associates on item 5 (Relations to Peers and Principal) at the elementary level. Obviously, then, there are differences in perception of abilities between the student teachers, on the one hand, and both sets of supervisors on the other.

The second research question examines these differences as they relate to the two types of supervisors. Table 1 reveals that, at the elementary level, there is more disagreement between self and faculty than between self and field supervisors. Indeed, differences between self and faculty assessments are significant across all categories and reveal unanimous disagreement in overall performance ($p < .001$).

TABLE 2

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-TESTS FOR SECONDARY
SELF, ASSOCIATE AND FACULTY RATINGS OF STUDENT
TEACHING PERFORMANCE (N=24)

Category	<i>Self</i>		<i>Associate</i>		<i>Faculty</i>		<i>t-values</i>		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	Self/ Associate	Self/ Faculty	Associate/ Faculty
(1) Instruction	5.56	.47	4.64	.97	4.94	.80	4.36***	3.61***	1.80
(2) Student Relations	5.72	.34	4.71	1.03	5.04	.65	4.52***	5.11***	1.87
(3) Learning Climate	5.65	.56	4.82	.92	4.94	.87	4.64***	3.67***	.65
(4) Curriculum	5.68	.41	4.60	.96	5.15	.94	5.35***	2.68*	3.53**
(5) Relations to Peers and Principal	5.88	.21	5.33	1.23	5.19	1.15	2.32*	3.33**	.81
(6) Professional Qualities	5.85	.19	5.07	1.12	4.98	.89	3.35**	5.03***	.54
(7) Personal Qualities	5.75	.44	5.10	1.16	4.93	.93	2.57*	4.40***	.97
Overall Performance	5.73	.34	4.98	.94	5.02	.81	4.13***	4.35***	1.07

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

However, ratings between self and associates showed significant differences for only four categories and for overall performance ($p < .05$). This finding leaves three areas of agreement, namely, Relations to Peers and Principal, Professional Qualities and Personal Qualities. In the secondary panel (Table 2), results are even more disparate. Throughout, there is total disagreement between the student teachers and the two sets of supervisors.

The third research question looks at the degree of congruity between faculty and field supervisory ratings. In the elementary panel, Table 1 indicates agreement on four factors (Instruction, Student Relations, Learning Climate, Curriculum) and disagreement on three items (Relations to Peers and Principal, Professional Qualities, Personal Qualities) and on overall performance ($p < .05$). In contrast, with the exception of Curriculum, there is consensus on all factors at the secondary level. This finding suggests that faculty and associates at the secondary level are far more congruent in their perceptions of student teacher abilities than are their counterparts at the elementary level.

The fourth research question considers female and male self-ratings as they relate to academic and field supervisory ratings. In Table 3, Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients between rater groups show little agreement between male candidates and the two groups of supervisors. Only one coefficient (Learning Climate) is significant for the self/associate ratings ($r = .49$, $p < .05$) and none are sig-

TABLE 3

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
SELF, ASSOCIATE, AND FACULTY RATINGS OF MALE AND FEMALE
STUDENT TEACHING PERFORMANCE RESPECTIVELY

Category	Male (N=22)			Female (N=25)		
	Self/ Associate	Self/ Faculty	Associate/ Faculty	Self/ Associate	Self/ Faculty	Associate/ Faculty
(1) Instruction	.01	.09	.59**	.34*	.32	.60***
(2) Student Relations	.01	.25	.59**	.01	.29	.59***
(3) Learning Climate	.49*	.19	.53**	.23	.19	.63***
(4) Curriculum	.16	.09	.61***	.40*	.42*	.54**
(5) Relations to Peers and Principal	.01	.33	.82***	.74***	.51**	.70***
(6) Professional Qualities	.04	.13	.75***	.22	.48**	.60***
(7) Personal Qualities	.05	.20	.75***	.29	.34*	.61***
Overall Performance	.07	.21	.79***	.39*	.48**	.71***

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

nificant for the self/faculty ratings. Yet, female student teachers agree with faculty advisors on four factors (Curriculum, Relations to Peers and Principal, Professional Qualities, Personal Qualities) and with associates on three factors (Instruction, Curriculum, Relations to Peers and Principal). Moreover, the overall performance scores for female candidates are significantly correlated for self/associate ($r = .39$, $p < .05$) and self/faculty ratings ($r = .48$, $p < .01$), while the correlations for male student teachers are not significant ($r = .07$ and $r = .21$, respectively). In other words, female student teachers are viewed more favorably than male student teachers by both sets of supervisors. In particular, they are seen as better curriculum developers and as being more able to relate to peers and principal.

The last research question deals with consistency between faculty and associate ratings for female and male candidates. As illustrated in Table 3, all of the correlations are significant ($p < .01$), thus indicating a high degree of supervisory consensus on the teaching abilities of both male and female participants.

Discussion

As noted in the first investigation, “most correlation coefficients between self-ratings and supervisor ratings are low and not significant” (Wheeler & Knoop, 1982, p. 181). Division of students by panel did not significantly alter this finding. Accordingly, at the elementary level, there appears to be no agreement on self/faculty

ratings, but some agreement on self/associate ratings. At the secondary level, differences are even more acute as students and supervisors disagree on all factors. In short, there is little agreement between either the elementary or secondary student teachers and their respective supervisors, but a considerable amount of agreement between the supervisors themselves.

The preceding discussion (Wheeler & Knoop, 1982) on rating errors (leniency and halo) and their effects are equally applicable to this study, and therefore will not be repeated here. Instead, the present exposition concentrates on the differences in ratings for male and female student teachers. In so doing, it may occasionally seem that the author is arguing for cause and effect relationships. However, this is certainly *not* the intent. Rather, the discussion merely offers some plausible explanations for the research findings. Hence, the following statements are strictly inference, *a posteriori* interpretations.

Undoubtedly, the most interesting results of this inquiry center around sex differences in terms of rater performance. Female student teachers were continually viewed more favorably than male candidates by both associates and faculty alike. This means, in essence, that when the sample is restricted to only female students, there is substantial agreement among the three rater groups (self/associate/faculty). Thus, when we confine the sample to only female students, the present results are in support of Chiu (1975) and Pease (1975), not Wheeler and Knoop (1982). Remember, though, the first two studies limited their samples to predominantly female respondents, the latter did not. Obviously, then, the sex of the student teacher is a key factor in a study of this sort, and, as such, should be included in future research efforts.⁵

The intriguing question is, of course, why the sexual disparity in supervisory ratings? Could it be that male students, as a group, overestimate their teaching abilities? A t-test between mean ratings for male and female students across categories and for overall performance negated any such claim. In fact, there were no significant differences between mean ratings for the two sexes on any one category or on overall performance. Translated, both male and female respondents rated themselves about equal in terms of teaching ability. Consequently, it would appear that male student teachers are not overstating their competencies if indeed they are as proficient as their female rivals. Assuming this to be the case, then their supervisors are clearly underestimating their abilities. Once again, the question becomes, why? Why do academic and field supervisors continually rate female candidates higher than male candidates? Somewhat puzzled by the results, the author reverted to a literature search. As previously stated, the author is not arguing for cause and effect relationships. On the contrary, the following discussion is strictly speculative, not conclusive.

The search proved to be most enlightening. For instance, Jacobson and Effertz (1974), Rosen and Jerdee (1973), and Rose and Andiappan (1978) found a sex-matching pattern in which subjects devalued workers of their own sex more than members of the opposite sex. More precisely, when individuals are rated by members of the same sex, they are more prone to devaluation than when rated by members of the opposite sex. This factor could be coming into play in this study as 20 of the 22 male student teachers had male associates and only 15 of the 25 female student teachers had female associates. Moreover, all of the faculty advisors were male. In such circumstances, it would appear that male respondents were at a definite disadvantage. That is, they may have been unknowingly discriminated against because of an imbalance in the sex-matching patterns of rater to ratee.

Still, despite the negative feedback, male student teachers continued to display confidence and persistence in their performance. But, why do male candidates con-

tinue to rate themselves as high as their female counterparts when they are continually underrated by their supervisors? Theories of earlier and continuous socialization into specific sex-typed behavior patterns (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) offer some insight although, as stressed, the theories are not definitive. Accordingly, boys, because of greater independence training, develop internal standards of excellence that allow them to become relatively free of external evaluation. Girls, however, because of their dependence training, are thought to remain reliant on feedback from others to judge their level of performance (Dweck, Davidson, Nelson, & Enna, 1978; Veroff, 1969).

Evidence suggests that the source of these "cognitive sets" can be traced back to the classroom. Specifically, teachers provide boys with frequent and widespread negative feedback irrelevant to their level of actual performance (Dweck et al., 1978). In other words, teachers blame shoddy work on lack of effort or interest, not on lack of ability. Thus, in time, external feedback loses its meaning as an indicator of ability because it is continually used indiscriminately to refer to behaviors unrelated to the correctness or quality of the child's responses (Eisenberger, Kaplan, & Singer, 1974; Warren & Cairns, 1972). Gradually, boys come to externalize negative events by ascribing the cause to external factors such as poor motivation or rater bias. Alternatively, they quickly internalize positive events by attributing the cause to internal factors such as competence (Dweck & Busch, 1976; Layden & Ickes, 1978; Nicholls, 1975; Rose, 1978).

In contrast, girls receive less negative feedback in the classroom, but that which is received is highly specific and geared to the level of ability displayed (Dweck et al., 1978). In addition, girls are socialized for modesty and noncompetitive and non-aggressive behaviors which can culminate in feelings of learned helplessness and low self-esteem. As a result, girls presumably internalize and take responsibility upon themselves for poor performance (i.e., lack of ability), while they externalize success by crediting the cause largely to luck or good fortune. This no-win situation naturally undermines self-confidence which is later reflected in the child's self-perception (Brannigan & Tolor, 1971; Dweck & Busch, 1976; Jackaway, 1975; Layden & Ickes, 1978; Nicholls, 1975; Rose, 1978).

Further, evidence suggests that these cognitive sets are often carried over into adult life where "professional socialization" affects levels of performance expectation (Widom & Burke, 1978). That is, men typically feel above average when compared with their co-workers (male or female), whereas women generally place themselves lower than their male colleagues. At the same time, Jackaway (1975) and Stein and Bailey (1972) found that performance assessment depended on whether the task was viewed as predominantly masculine or feminine. When the task is seen as feminine, as is teaching, females tend to raise their expectancy levels considerably.

Now, how does this construct supposedly "fit" together? Well, first let us look at the female student teacher. She has the advantage of compatible sex-matching (more male than female supervisors), which, in turn, results in much positive feedback (external reinforcement builds confidence), she identifies closely with the teaching profession (feminine or masculine task), and externalizes a high degree of success which is reflected in her self-rating. The male student teacher, on the other hand, receives much negative feedback due to incompatible sex-matching. Nevertheless, his cognitive set tells him to ignore such feedback as it is an external locus of control. Indeed, he has been conditioned to automatically attribute criticism to lack of effort or rater bias, not ability. Moreover, his convictions are strengthened through professional socialization which fosters male superiority, and consequently a high degree of self-esteem.

Conclusions

The present investigation may have some profound implications for practice. First, a balancing in the sex-matching patterns of rater to ratee might help facilitate more impartial supervision. This would seem to be particularly crucial in an institution where the clientele is predominantly female and the faculty predominantly male. Without equitable balancing, male candidates could be at an extreme disadvantage. Second, it would appear that the amount and type of feedback provided to student teachers should be carefully monitored. For those who wish to increase performance, it should be clear that negative feedback is not universally effective. In fact, it can be dramatically counter-productive especially when the recipient is programmed to internalize failure (Layden & Ickes, 1978). Does this mean, then, that no criticism should be given? Quite the contrary, but it does mean that disapproval should be objective and directed to the task at hand. It should be clearly stated, precise, constructive, and perhaps most importantly, given in a nonthreatening manner. Finally, the author proposes that supervisors should not deliberately challenge or discourage students who have inflated self-concepts; provided, of course, that they are within reason. Certainly, evidence suggests that individuals with positive self-images perform better, on the average, than those with negative self-images. In particular, those with high self-worth are, as a rule, more easily motivated, better adjusted, take greater pride in their work, and are healthier from both a physical and mental standpoint (Korman, 1977; Zander, 1963). Surely, such individuals would be a welcome asset to any profession, the teaching profession included!

Notes

1. In order to avoid excessive repetition, the terms evaluation, assessment, and appraisal are used synonymously and interchangeably throughout the text.
2. This is certainly not an exhaustive list. In fact, recently, there has been a flood of books, booklets, pamphlets and journal articles on the topic.
3. Examples include Tempe School District, Arizona; Coffeyville District Schools USD 44, Kansas; Highline School District, Seattle, Washington (Sullivan Kowalski, 1978); and the Niagara South Board of Education, Ontario (Program for Continuing Professional Growth, n.d.).
4. Field supervisors are sometimes referred to as cooperating, master or associate teachers. In this text, the term associate, equating with field supervisor, is frequently used.
5. The author would like to conduct a more extensive study in which the effects of gender, socioeconomic status, residency (rural/urban), marital status, age, birth order, and grade-point average of the student teacher could be explored separately, successively and simultaneously.

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Experience, Mass Media Use and Beliefs About Youth: A Comparative Study¹

A general sample of 122 veteran teachers who attended recent spring and summer sessions at the University of British Columbia responded to a modified edition of a questionnaire which had previously been administered to 488 education students enrolled at eight Canadian universities. The two groups were compared with respect to data on their respective habits of mass media use, credulity and beliefs about youth. Results indicate that: (1) the veteran teachers showed as much credulity with respect to, and invested as much trust in, mass media as sources of reliable and trustworthy ideas and information, as did the student sample; (2) the teachers tended to be somewhat more discriminating than the students in their mass media use since the proportions of their reading and television fare which were categorized as informational and serious were higher, and the proportions classified as light or entertainment were lower, than the corresponding proportions for the students; and (3) the veteran teachers had a less realistic perception of young people than did the education students though both groups adhered to beliefs which conform to dimensions of a youth stereotype given prominence in mass media. It is concluded that protracted interaction with young people in the classroom apparently has not diminished the present teachers' unrealistic beliefs about young people. Finally, it is suggested that teacher educators might well incorporate the critical study of mass mediated culture in their courses, by which means they may reduce the credulity and enhance the literacy of prospective teachers.

"What's wrong with our teachers?" This question on the cover of a widely circulated newsmagazine (Solorzano, 1983) illustrates a genre of question which greets

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the browser at newsstands with great regularity nowadays. A sense of urgency pervades these signs of renewed interest in teacher quality (Gallup, 1982; Kirst, 1981; Zumwalt, 1982). The urgency seems to arise from alarming indications of declines in pupil performances on achievement tests (e.g., Astin, 1979; Atkin, 1981; Eurich & Kraetsch, 1982; Jones, 1981; Kirst, 1981; McGregor, 1984; McQuaid, 1984), declines in the abilities scores for would-be teachers (e.g., Solorzano, 1983; Vance & Schlechty, 1982; Watts, 1980) and deterioration of public confidence in and support for education (e.g., Gallup, 1982; *Newsweek*, 1983; Weiler, 1982). Government bodies, foundations and universities are making concern about the quality of teachers, and selection and preparation practices which affect same, salient (e.g., Berliner, 1983; McGregor, 1984; McQuaid, 1983, 1984; Santinelli, 1983; Spitzberg, 1983; Travis, 1983a, 1983b). If the rhetorical signs of rejuvenated interest in teacher quality follow past patterns, they portend, and we should anticipate, changes in teacher education (Cogan, 1975, p. 209; Zumwalt, 1982). In such circumstances, evidence bearing on specific issues of selection and preparation should be made available to and made salient for those who will make decisions about reform.

The present report provides evidence which is pertinent to the general issue of what we might expect teachers to gain from their practice of teaching, including everything from preservice practicums and internships to years of subsequent practice. Indirectly, it is therefore pertinent to selection and other preparation questions such as what should be studied in preparation.

Some people might suppose (quite reasonably) that the practices of teaching or instruction are best learned in the settings of teaching and instruction. Accordingly, such people sometimes urge a new or renewed emphasis on practice teaching, internships or on-site learning for intending teachers (e.g., Cogan, 1975). However, competent teaching entails more than the arts of organization, management and instruction which can be learned and refined on-site. Among the characteristics which we might, with reason, expect to see exhibited by our teachers (in addition to those practical matters already mentioned) are (1) a realistic understanding of human beings generally and youngsters particularly, (2) a cultivated or informed critical capacity to assess the merits of information and ideas (i.e., an educated capacity to discriminate between higher and lower quality cultural objects, conditions and events); and (3) a discerning or discriminating comportment in relation to organs, agencies or sources of information, ideas and images (i.e., a set of refined cultural habits and sensibilities). The adequacy of a teacher's orientations to the subjects, objects and interactions, to the pupils, content and experience for which he or she is responsible is greatly affected by such understanding and cultivation (e.g., Turner, 1975). Accordingly, the present study addresses the general question of whether we have reason to expect teachers to acquire these characteristics in the same manner, at the same time, and in the same settings as they acquire their other practical knowledge (i.e., internship—practice; on site *in situ*). The answer to this question is not obvious or settled. However, some might assert otherwise—especially when financial stringency might urge the attractiveness of supposing that all practical knowledge is best acquired, and can be expected to be acquired, where and when practice is done. Such assertions invite a reminder of the distinction between logic and psychologic: Evidence is pertinent here.

The availability of data on education students' habits of mass media use, credulity and beliefs about youth (Travis & Violato, 1981) and the instrumentation by which same was gathered, made a pertinent comparative study feasible. Accordingly, parallel (corresponding) data from veteran (experienced) teachers were sought for comparisons with those for the relatively inexperienced education students of the Travis and Violato (1981) study. Comparisons of the data for the two groups

were made to discover the extent to which the experienced teachers differed significantly from the inexperienced students with regard to their habits of mass media use, credulity and beliefs about or perceptions of youth.

Such comparisons were assumed to yield some modest but specific indications of the impact of teaching experience on beliefs about or perceptions of youth, patterns of mass media use and credulity with respect to mass mediated information and ideas. Significant differences between the responses of the veteran teachers and those of the inexperienced education students were interpreted as indices of the influence of teaching experience. Since Travis and Violato (1981) had studied the nature of covariations of these variables with age, any systematic differences between the comparison groups on these variables was subject to assessment.

The items used to assess beliefs about youth were taken to be items which sampled respondents' understanding of children and adolescents. Affirmation of beliefs which entailed inaccurate or unwarranted attributions to young people was very frequent in the Travis and Violato (1981) sample of inexperienced education students. Apparently, large proportions of Canadian students preparing to be teachers hold unrealistic beliefs about the nature of the young people they would teach (Adelson, 1979, 1980; Springhall, 1983/1984). Such unrealistic beliefs are probable impediments to reasonable interaction between pupils and teachers. However, one might argue that since these education students have not had protracted or substantial experience with young people in classrooms, as have veteran teachers, they may have less realistic beliefs about them than do experienced teachers. In sum, experience with daily realities of teaching may force adjustments in beliefs as teachers become more experienced with youth. (Indeed, in the light of their findings that their education students were very frequently unrealistic in their perceptions of young people, Travis and Violato [1981] suggested studies of teachers' beliefs about youth.) Accordingly, if the teachers' beliefs about youth were found to be significantly different from those of the education students and the difference was that the teachers were more realistic, this difference would suggest an experience effect. The first hypothesis for the present study, then, predicted that there would be no significant differences between the two samples with regard to their beliefs about youth as indicated by their affirmations and rejections of five dimensions of a six dimensional youth stereotype described by Travis and Violato (1981). On five of the six beliefs or dimensions of the youth stereotype, Travis and Violato found increases in age were not correlated with affirmation or rejection of the beliefs. However, on the sixth dimension, increases in age were associated with more unrealistic beliefs in the inexperienced student group. With regard to the sixth dimension on which Travis and Violato found an age effect (which consisted of the fact that the older members of the inexperienced student sample were significantly more unrealistic than the younger ones), the veteran teacher group (which was both older and experienced) was predicted to differ from the inexperienced group. That is, members of the former would more frequently affirm the belief that, compared with their elders, young people are less hypocritical. This is in accord with the findings of Travis and Violato (1981).

In addition to the comparisons made to gain evidence on the possible influence of teaching experience on belief indicators of understanding young people, other useful comparisons were suggested. These yield evidence pertaining to the question of whether gains in teaching experience are accompanied by increases in informed critical judgment, discernment and discrimination in relation to organs, agencies or sources of ideas, images and information. Comparisons of the two groups' orientations to mass media serve this purpose. Specifically, comparisons of the

teachers and intending teachers with regard to their credulity or their trust in and reliance upon mass media provides another check on, or indicator of, possible changes which arise from or accompany the acquisition of teaching experience. Similarly, comparisons of the two groups' patterns of mass media use throw more light on the same question of cultural comportment. Moreover, since virtually nothing is known about this, it would be useful to gain information about veteran teachers' habits of mass media use (Cortés, 1983; Schalock, 1979). Accordingly, two more predictions were made: the first of these (the second prediction) was that the experienced teachers would not differ from those who aspire to teach in their trust of and reliance on mass media. That is, they would rely upon and trust mass media (for adequate information on and ideas about world affairs) more than they trust and rely upon all other possible sources. The final or third prediction was that veteran teachers and inexperienced education students differ significantly with regard to the patterns of mass media use. Specifically, the former were predicted to be more selective and discriminating than the latter in their use of television and magazines, with the veterans using serious and informational fare more than their inexperienced counterparts; and the students using entertainment fare more than the veteran teachers. The latter prediction is in accord with the evidence which indicates that age and usage patterns are so related. Accordingly, observed differences of the sort predicted will not be interpretable as simple expressions of effects from experience in teaching.

The purpose of the present study, then, was to discover whether a sample of veteran teachers on specific indicators would demonstrate greater understanding of young people, less credulity with regard to mass mediated information, and more discernment and discrimination in their use of mass media fare, than a sample of inexperienced education students. The comparisons were made to obtain evidence pertaining to the question of whether teaching experience is an efficient and sufficient developer of human understanding, as well as informed critical judgment and refined or at least discriminative habits and sensibilities in relation to sources of information, images and ideas.

Method

Subjects

The group of veteran teachers consisted of volunteers from the population attending recent spring and summer sessions of the University of British Columbia. The total sample ($n=122$) was made up of 50 male (41.0 percent) and 72 female (59.0 percent) teachers. Eighty-nine (73.0 percent) respondents held at least one degree while 33 (27.0 percent) did not possess a degree. Nine respondents (7.4 percent of the total sample) held advanced degrees as well as bachelor's degrees. Seventeen teachers (13.9 percent) had taught for two years or less, while the bulk of the sample (81 subjects or 66.4 percent) had taught for 3-10 years and 24 (19.7 percent) had taught for more than ten years. The mean number of years of teaching experience for the sample was 7.6. More than half of the subjects taught in elementary schools (60.2 percent) while 39.8 percent taught in secondary schools. Subjects ranged in age from 22 to 55 years with a mean age of 35.6 years ($SD=9.01$; mode=35). The inexperienced student (comparison) groups consisted of those described by Travis and Violato (1981).

Procedure

Questionnaires were distributed in classes by course instructors who administered the questionnaires and adhered to the procedures described by Travis

and Violato (1981). There were, however, two departures from that procedure. First, potential respondents were told that the survey project was designed to collect information about practicing teachers (rather than education students). Second, respondents were instructed to complete the questionnaire outside of class time (but they were urged to return the forms, within two days, in sealed envelopes provided by the course instructors). Course instructors subsequently sent the completed questionnaires to the investigators.

The procedure which Travis and Violato used for deriving an index of the proportions of program types shown on television was used: a content analysis of *TV Guide* was conducted. Accordingly, their scheme for the classification of programs was used: (1) sitcoms / variety / game / talk shows; (2) cops / medics / lawyers / adventure; (3) sports; (4) public affairs documentaries; (5) non-public affairs documentaries; (6) national or local news; and (7) serious drama. Again, following Travis and Violato, the original seven categories were reduced for further analysis, to three as follows: (1) entertainment (combined categories 1, 2 and 3); (2) information (combined categories 4, 5, and 6); and (3) serious drama (category 7).

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used by Travis and Violato was modified slightly. Items which were designed for inexperienced teachers were eliminated and others which asked respondents to indicate the extent and nature of their teaching experience were added. Thus, in addition to the latter, respondents provided information about their backgrounds, habits and outlooks. Accordingly, their responses were comparable to those of the 488 education students described by Travis and Violato (1981).

Results

The data are presented under three main headings: (1) Mass Media Use, (2) Sources of Ideas and Information, and (3) Beliefs About Youth.

Mass Media Use

Television. With regard to their reports about amount of time spent watching television, the present sample of veteran teachers did not differ from the education students described by Travis and Violato: a small proportion (8.5 percent) watched no television at all, while 73.1 percent were "medium" users (1-14 hours/week) and 7.4 percent were "high" users (15+ hours/week). However, this sample differed from the Travis and Violato sample in that male teachers tended to log more viewing time per week than did female teachers ($X^2=7.73$; $df=2$; $p=0.0209$).

The programs which teachers said they watched were classified according to type of programs as were programs listed in *TV Guide*. The proportions of viewing associated with each program type and the proportions of television programs available for each program type are reported in Table 1. Very similar patterns emerge in the types of programs watched "regularly" and "occasionally" with the exception of national or local news. The teachers, like the students, tended to watch news more regularly than occasionally. However, the percentages of teachers' viewing associated with program types are not very similar to the percentages derived from content analysis of programs in *TV Guide* that are telecast. This is in contrast with the students' viewing patterns reported by Travis and Violato: the students tended to watch whatever was offered. The proportions of viewing associated with each program type watched regularly by teachers and students were com-

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF TYPES OF PROGRAMS WATCHED
BY TEACHERS AND PERCENTAGES OF PROGRAM TYPES
AIRED ON TELEVISION ACCORDING TO TV GUIDE

	Percent of Program Types Watched by Respondents		Percent of Program Types on Television According to TV Guide	
	<i>Regularly</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>		
1. Sitcoms/variety/ game/talk shows	20.4%	29.4%	46.1%	
2. Cops/medics/ lawyers/adventure	2.7%	8.1%	13.3%	
3. Sports	8.7%	8.1%	9.1%	
4. Nonpublic affairs documentaries	5.4%	5.6%	8.3%	
5. Public affairs documentaries	16.2%	16.3%	6.5%	
6. National or local news	33.8%	10.6%	13.5%	
7. Serious drama	12.8%	21.9%	3.2%	
	Entertainment = 31.8%		Entertainment = 45.6%	
	Information = 55.4%		Information = 32.5%	
	Serious = 12.8%		Serious = 21.9%	

pared (see Table 2, Part A). These data indicate that the teachers, on a regular basis, watched less entertainment and more informational and serious program fare than did the Travis and Violato students ($X^2=59.72$; $df=2$; $p=0.00000$). This same contrast between the two groups exists for programs that are watched occasionally ($X^2=36.24$; $df=2$; $p=0.0000$). The teachers seemed to be more discriminating in their viewing in that they watched more serious and informational programs than was the case with the education students.

Newspapers. A daily newspaper was read by 75.4 percent of the present sample ($n=122$) while 19.7 percent said they did not read a daily newspaper, and 2.5 percent failed to respond to the question. The overall mean number of times per week that daily newspapers were read was 4.11 while the mode was 6. When these data were compared to the corresponding data for the Travis and Violato sample of education students, no between-group differences emerged ($X^2=0.57$; $df=2$; $p=0.7533$).

Periodicals. Members of the teacher sample were asked, as were the Travis and Violato respondents, to indicate which periodicals they read regularly. Their responses indicated that the ten periodicals listed below (each followed by the sample proportion which read it) were the most popular: (1) *Time* (57.4 percent),

(2) *National Geographic* (50.0 percent), (3) *Macleans* (38.5 percent), (4) *Weekend Magazine* (33.6 percent), (5) *Reader's Digest* (22.3 percent), (6) *Newsweek* (20.5 percent), (7) *TV Guide* (19.7 percent), (8) *Chatelaine* (18.8 percent), (9) *Sports Illustrated* (15.6 percent), and (10) *Playboy* (12.3 percent). These data closely resemble the data for education students which Travis and Violato reported. *Time* was the most popular in both instances; and the bottom ten periodicals for both groups belonged to the "political" or "quality" categories. Both the veteran teachers group and the student group preferred magazines which are insubstantial in content, style and tone and showed very little interest in better quality periodicals.

Following the procedure described by Travis and Violato, the teachers' periodicals reading was analyzed to discover the relative popularity of different types of

TABLE 2
COMPARISON BETWEEN TYPES OF TELEVISION
PROGRAMS WATCHED REGULARLY AND
MAGAZINE TYPES READ REGULARLY BY
TEACHERS AND EDUCATION STUDENTS

PART A: Comparison between types of television programs watched regularly.

Group	Television Programs		
	Entertainment	Information	Serious
Education Students	66.0*	27.4	6.6
Teachers	31.8	55.4	12.8

* Numbers represent the percentage of people watching the associated program types regularly.
 $X^2=59.72$; $df=2$; $p=0.0000$

PART B: Comparison between types of periodicals read regularly.

Group	Periodical Type		
	Entertainment	Information	Serious
Education Students	54.4*	34.8	10.8
Teachers	42.1	45.7	12.2

* Numbers represent percent of people reading the associated periodical type regularly.
 $X^2=27.10$; $df=2$; $p=0.0000$

periodicals. The magnitudes of reading coefficients indicated that for the teacher sample, the popularity of different periodical types rank (from high to low) as follows: (1) News (e.g., *Time*); (2) Light (e.g., *People*); (3) Sport (e.g., *Sports Illustrated*); (4) Women's (e.g., *Vogue*); (5) Skin (e.g., *Playboy*); (6) Arts and Crafts (e.g., *Photography*); (7) Quality (e.g., *Harper's*); (8) Humor (e.g., *National Lampoon*); (9) Alternate Press (e.g., *Rolling Stone*); (10) Political (e.g., *Encounter*);

and (11) Business (e.g., *Fortune*). The rank order of these periodical types for teachers differs little from that which Travis and Violato reported for their sample of education students. The rank of "news" periodicals is higher for the teachers than for students and "light" periodicals rank higher for the students than for teachers. The only difference between the first five elements in the two rank orders is that the "light" and "news" categories change places. However, when the periodicals were regrouped into three categories (i.e., Entertainment, Information and Serious) the reading patterns of teachers differed from those of the students (see part B of Table 2).

An analysis comparing these distributions shows that teachers tend to read more informational and serious magazines while the education students showed a comparatively greater preference for entertainment periodicals and read less informational and serious materials ($X^2=27.10$; $df=2$; $p=0.0000$). The older (veteran teacher) group seem to be more discriminating in that they tended to read better quality magazines (just as within the inexperienced group, Travis and Violato found that older students were more discriminating than younger students).

Sources of Ideas and Information

Data about sources of ideas and information are summarized in Table 3. Part A of this table shows the proportions of the sample, listing each source as one which provides adequate and reliable information and ideas about social, economic and political matters. Newspapers and television were listed most frequently (22.6 percent and 21.5 percent respectively) and while professors were listed least frequently (9.7 percent), books were not listed by anybody. Meanwhile, 13.6 percent listed parents, relatives and/or friends as providing such a function. Moreover, 17.4 percent felt that these people were *the most* important source of trustworthy information and only the proportion designating newspapers as the most important such source was a higher proportion (30.6 percent). Of the six sources listed by respondents, professors ranked behind four as the most important source of trustworthy information. These data indicate that teachers tend to accord magazines more importance as sources of trustworthy information than do education students (see Travis & Violato, 1981); but neither group seems to think that books or professors are very important as sources of information and ideas.

The data from the rank ordering of mass media sources which provide information about world affairs do not differ much from the parallel data for the education students reported by Travis and Violato. Television was ranked first by 32.6 percent of the sample and second by 23.8 percent. Newspapers were ranked first by 30.5 percent, radio by 24.6 percent, magazines by 8.2 percent and "other" by 4.1 percent. Television was ranked as the first or second most important source of adequate information by 56.4 percent of the sample. Overall then, television was regarded as *the most important* mass media source; and it was clearly a very important source when all possible sources for providing adequate information about world affairs were considered. This result is congruent with the Travis and Violato data for education students as well as the data from other studies of university students (Finlay, 1979). In sum, even though it is well known that television and other mass media sources provide systematically distorted views of reality (e.g., Epstein, 1973; Funkhouser, 1973; Lapham, 1981; Mankiewicz & Swerklow, 1978) both the present sample of veteran teachers and the Travis and Violato sample of would-be teachers seem to be trusting and credulous with respect to mass media in general and television in particular.

TABLE 3

TEACHERS' SOURCES OF IDEAS AND INFORMATION ABOUT
SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MATTERS

PART A: Percentage of teachers listing items as being important sources of ideas and information about social, political and economic matters.

Source	Percent of Sample
1. Newspapers	22.6
2. Television	21.5
3. Periodicals/Magazines	18.3
4. Radio	14.3
5. Parents/Relatives/Friends	13.6
5. Professors	9.7

PART B: Percentage of teachers listing items as being the most or second most important source of ideas and information about social, political and economic matters.

Source	Most Important (%)	2nd Most Important (%)
1. Newspapers	30.6	18.6
2. Parents/Relatives/Friends	17.4	8.1
3. Periodicals/Magazines	14.2	25.7
4. Television	13.3	29.0
5. Professors	13.3	8.1
6. Radio	11.2	10.5

Beliefs About Youth

Large proportions of the sample (that responded to the question) indicated that today's youth, when compared to their elders, are more knowledgeable (n=90; 78.6 percent), less hypocritical (n=60; 52.5 percent), more progressive (n=67; 60.4 percent) and not more conservative (n=89; 81.7 percent). Smaller proportions reported beliefs that these youth are more virtuous (n=9; 8.0 percent) and wiser (n=13; 11.6 percent) than their elders. The results of the comparison of the beliefs about youth of teachers and education students are summarized in Table 4. From this data, it can be seen that there are no between-group differences on the beliefs regarding five of the six dimensions of the stereotype (knowledgeability, wisdom, virtuosity, conservatism and progressiveness). None of the corrected chi-squared statistics (for a 2x2 contingency table) for the cross-tabulations on these dimensions is significant at the $\alpha=.05$ level of significance.

However, teachers did tend to place more credence in the hypocrisy dimension of the stereotype ($X^2=5.590$; $df=1$; $p=0.0181$). A larger proportion of teachers than education students asserted that today's youth are less hypocritical than their elders (Table 4). Overall, the results from the teacher data indicate that youth is, for the most part, construed by many in the sample as possessing qualities and attitudes which are deviant in a progressive direction.

Beliefs about three dimensions of the stereotype covaried with sex, teaching level and degree of educational attainment. Females more than males indicated that

youth are less hypocritical than their elders ($X^2=4.75$; $df=1$; $p=0.0361$). Moreover, subscription to this dimension was more characteristic of those who had no degree than those who held one or more degrees ($X^2=4.75$; $df=1$; $p=0.0293$). Females also tended to subscribe to the conservatism dimension more than did males ($X^2=9.47$; $df=1$; $p=0.0021$). We see then, that there are some sex, educational level and teaching level differences in some of the beliefs about youth.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The first hypothesis predicted that the veteran teachers would not differ from the education students with respect to beliefs about five dimensions (knowledgeability, wisdom, virtuosity, progressiveness, and conservatism) of the

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF THE BELIEFS ABOUT YOUTH OF
TEACHERS AND EDUCATION STUDENTS

Group	<i>Beliefs About Youth</i>											
	More Knowledgeable ¹		Wiser ²		More Virtuous ³		Less Hypocritical ⁴		More Conservative ⁵		More Progressive ⁶	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Teachers	(90) ^a 79.6	(23) 20.4	(13) 11.6	(99) 88.4	(9) 8.0	(103) 92.0	(60) 52.2	(55) 47.8	(20) 18.3	(89) 81.7	(67) 60.4	(44) 39.6
Education Students	(363) 77.1	(108) 22.9	(73) 16.4	(371) 83.6	(53) 12.2	(380) 87.8	(175) 39.4	(269) 60.6	(72) 16.3	(370) 83.7	(263) 60.6	(171) 39.4

¹ $x^2=0.215$; $df=1$; $p=0.6427$

² $x^2=1.250$; $df=1$; $p=0.2635$

³ $x^2=1.17$; $df=1$; $p=0.2792$

⁴ $x^2=5.590$; $df=1$; $p=0.0181$

⁵ $x^2=0.139$; $df=1$; $p=0.7092$

⁶ $x^2=0.003$; $df=1$; $p=0.9499$

^a Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of respondents in that group who responded yes or no to the beliefs about youth. The other figure in the cell is the percentage of the group that gave that response.

youth stereotype. Moreover, it was predicted that teachers would place more credence than did the education students in the hypocrisy dimension. As can be seen from the foregoing data, this hypothesis is unequivocally supported. The only difference in beliefs which emerged between the two groups was on the hypocrisy dimension wherein teachers placed more credence in this than did education students ($X^2=5.590$; $df=1$; $p=0.0181$).

Hypothesis 2. This hypothesis predicted that, with regard to perceived reliability and trustworthiness of all possible sources of information and ideas about social, political, economic and other world affairs, teachers would favor mass media over all other possible sources. The data in the present study indicate strong support for this hypothesis. When asked on which of all possible sources of adequate information and trustworthy ideas about world affairs they relied, only 23.3 percent of the teachers designated sources other than mass media. Moreover, designations of parents, relatives and friends constituted the bulk of nominated sources (other than mass media) which were relied upon and trusted for adequate information and ideas about world affairs. Meanwhile, 76.7 percent of the teachers indicated that

they relied upon and trusted mass media for adequate information and ideas. Furthermore, the mass media source which was considered to be the most important source of adequate ideas and information was television (which was so designated by 32.6 percent of the sample).

Hypothesis 3. This hypothesis predicted that the veteran teachers would watch more informational and serious television programs and read more serious and informational periodicals than did the Travis and Violato sample of education students. From the data presented in Tables 1 and 2, it can be seen that this hypothesis is uniformly supported. The teachers overall seemed to be more discriminating than the education students in their television viewing and periodical reading habits.

Discussion

The major findings from this study may be summarized as follows: (1) The veteran teachers' beliefs about youth were not much different from those of the students; untenable beliefs were subscribed to by both groups. Indeed, the veteran teachers seemed to have an even less realistic perception of youth than did the education students in the proposition that today's youth are less hypocritical than their elders. (2) The second major finding was that the veteran teachers tended to be more discriminating and selective than the students with respect to the types of television programs watched and the types of periodicals read, though there were no between-group differences on amount of time spent watching television and the frequency with which newspapers are read. (3) The third major finding was that veteran teachers tended to place high degrees of confidence in mass media as sources of reliable and trustworthy information about social, political, economic and other world affairs as did the Travis and Violato (1981) sample and others (Finlay, 1979; Roper, 1975).

A majority of the teachers in the present sample subscribed to four of the six dimensions of the youth stereotype (knowledgeability [79.6 percent], hypocrisy [52.2 percent], conservatism [81.7 percent], progressiveness [60.4 percent]) while smaller proportions subscribed to the other two (wisdom [11.5 percent], virtuosity [8.0 percent]). It seems likely then, that protracted and continued exposure to young people in the classroom has not made this sample of teachers' beliefs about youth any more realistic than those of the relatively young (mean age was 23 years) and inexperienced education students. As Travis and Violato suggested, these beliefs may have been cultivated by mass media dissemination of stereotypes of young people. This assertion gains further support from the present study as it was the teachers (who are older) that tended to put more credence in the hypocrisy dimension of the stereotype. Perhaps this belief was congealed when, some years ago, the then younger teachers encountered an image of youth which was then given widespread and sustained visibility in mass media (Adelson, 1964). The education students (who are younger) have received less exposure to this hypocrisy-free youth notion since it has been less prominent in mass media in recent years. Most significant for the purpose of the present study however, is the fact that teaching experience did not stimulate the development of greater understanding of youngsters, represented by the belief indicators, than that of the inexperienced students.

It should also be pointed out that while the teachers did tend to be more discriminating and selective in their television program viewing and magazine reading than were the education students, the greatest difference was in the use of what was called "information" material. For television programs, this includes national or local news and documentaries while for magazines this includes *Time*, *Newsweek*,

Macleans, and the like. It is well known, however, that television news and documentaries hardly reflect an accurate portrayal of reality (e.g., Epstein, 1973; Mankiewicz & Swerklow, 1978; Tuchman, 1974) and that such widely circulated magazines as *Time* (bought by scores of millions) provide superficial and systematically distorted accounts of social, political and economic matters (Felder, Meeske, & Hall, 1979; Funkhouser, 1973; Lapham, 1981; Merrill, 1965). For the present sample, national or local news constituted the greatest proportion (33.8 percent) of television programs watched regularly (see Table 1). Of magazines, *Time* was the most widely read (57.4 percent of the sample), while *Macleans* and *Newsweek* were among the ten most widely used. Clearly, the teachers in the present sample are receiving fairly heavy doses of highly stylized accounts and misinformation about young people and other subjects (Lapham, 1981). It is somewhat unsettling that they so frequently abandon the task of constructing their own beliefs about youth based on their own observations. For the prefabricated depictions of youth supplied by organs dominated by style, format and economic considerations are not only inaccurate: they can contribute to misperception, misunderstanding and maladroit behavior.

The results of the present study once again underscore the merit of reiterating the suggestions which Travis and Violato (1981) made. Teacher educators have reason to make systematic efforts to disabuse their students of unrealistic notions about young people. This might well be done best within the context of the critical study of mass mediated culture and the impact of such culture on young people. A logical place for such efforts in teacher preparation programs is the usual adolescent or developmental psychology component. Unfortunately, many textbooks on adolescent psychology may be implicated in fostering unrealistic notions about young people and creating the illusion of a universal adolescent psychology (Adelson, 1979; Springhall, 1983/1984; Travis & Violato, 1981). However, critical appraisal of what is read in any context is desirable; and as Piaget said, one of the most useful strategies for improving our constructions and apprehensions of reality is that which entails a foil which one attacks (Bringuier, 1980). Of course this presumes that such things can be taught—and taught, moreover, to a group of people who are typically not inclined toward intellectual pursuits let alone noteworthy accomplishment. Perhaps without serious efforts to select candidates who are more fond of learning (as an end), too many teachers will continue to show the signs of a gravely limited human understanding, undeveloped critical judgment and rather primitive orientation to information and its sources, irrespective of experience in teaching and/or instruction which might be given to them.

In sum, the evidence from this comparative study did not support the proposition that all matters of practical importance in teaching are accrued in teaching practice. On the contrary, experienced teachers showed no more human understanding as represented by beliefs about youth than did inexperienced education students. Moreover, they seemed to be as credulous with regard to mass media as the students; and finally, though they seemed to be more discriminating in their patterns of mass media use, this discernment is not clearly a gain from teaching experience.

Notes

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Critical Incidents in the Supervision of Student Teaching¹

Relatively little attention has been directed to isolating and analyzing the events which actually comprise student teaching supervision and are perceived by student teachers, faculty advisors, or sponsor teachers to have had a significant impact on the student's teaching performance. The subjects of this study, student teachers and their supervisors, were asked to describe supervisory incidents which they believed affected teaching performance either positively or negatively. The critical incidents were then categorized according to an amended version of Broudy's (1965) problems of practice comprising the education profession.

Many teacher preparation programs assign early priority to exposing students to available knowledge in the fields of curriculum and instruction, child growth and development, children's learning, educational measurement, and the philosophy, history and sociology of education.

Student teaching, considered by many to be the capstone of the preparation experience, is undertaken on the assumption that students will transfer the "talk" about teaching to the enterprise itself, and begin to self-monitor their teaching behavior (Russell, 1979). Generally, two supervisors, a sponsor teacher in the school setting and a faculty advisor from the faculty of education, monitor the student's teaching endeavors. Each has opportunities to observe the student teacher instructing pupils and to interact with him or her in order to improve the quality of that instruction. Each is usually expected to pronounce on the student teacher's degree of proficiency and suitability for certification in the teaching profession.

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The Goals of Student Teaching Supervision

The all-encompassing objective of supervising student teaching is to ensure, as far as possible, that the student becomes proficient in teaching. This assumes that the supervisor, whether sponsor teacher or faculty advisor, can identify effective teaching and guide the student toward that goal, that he or she is able to analyze the discrepancy between “what is” and “what ought to be” with the student teacher, and that the supervisor will meet the student teacher’s need for “a sustained, expert program to help him (or her) relinquish . . . existing classroom behaviour in favour of new behaviour” (Cogan, 1973, p. 4).

It is not enough to speak in generalities about ensuring teaching success through providing a sustained expert program of supervision. More basic questions must be asked. How do supervisors really proceed in order to be helpful? Are there in fact various ways to proceed?

Models of Student Teaching Supervision

Connors (1977) states that about 30 percent of the research on teacher education relates to student teaching supervision, including investigations of relationships between sponsor teachers and student teachers (Leslie, 1971); studies of personality changes (e.g., authoritarianism) and changes in professional self-image occurring in student teachers during teaching practice (Young, 1971; Hamil, 1972; Munad, 1975; Coulter, 1974); studies of university supervision and its effects on student teachers (Morris, 1974); as well as studies investigating training for university supervisory personnel (Douglas & Pfeiffer, 1973).

More recent research as noted in the chapter on teacher education in *Canadian Research in Education: A State of the Art Review* (Andrews & Rogers, 1981) also, in many instances, focuses on personality type variables as they relate to other factors such as the length of the practicum and the quality of supervisory support provided to the student teacher (Clifton & Covert, 1977; Clifton, 1979; Gregory & Allen, 1978).

The quality of support provided to student teachers may depend to some degree on the model of student teaching supervision adopted by the supervisor. For example, Olson (1982), Horwood (1981), and Housego and Grimmett (1983) all discuss models of student teaching supervision. Olson (1982), analyzing interviews with eight science sponsor teachers, contrasted the model they generally adopt, “friends in the audience,” with that expected by the faculty of education, the more analytic “drama critic.” He found that sponsor teachers did not view the student’s teaching performance as being made up of elements and therefore analyzable; instead they viewed it as “all of a piece.” As “friends in the audience,” they declined when asked to use the faculty-supplied analytical rating scales, which would have enabled them to analyze and critique, preferring instead to provide student teachers with only informal, verbal feedback on gross performance-based categories such as initiative or confidence.

Horwood (1981), also studying the supervisory behavior of science sponsor teachers and categorizing the relationships between them and their student teachers, described three models of student teaching supervision. The most common model, “master-apprentice,” is in play, he suggested, when the sponsor teacher, the master, delegates portions of his or her teaching to the student teacher, the apprentice, and provides criticism, not based so much on knowledge of the research on teaching as on a belief that one’s own success is proof that one’s approach is correct. Horwood noted that another group of supervisors admitted their ignorance with regard to the complexity of detail in teaching and appeared to function on

what he termed the “brewmaster model” of supervision. This situation of not knowing what one is doing, but feeling one must be doing something right, leads to the formulation of simple rules of thumb regarding what should be done in particular situations. Whereas the brewmaster is uncertain as to why particular actions work, the master with an apprentice, more confident in his or her knowledge of teaching, may provide a rationale, perhaps a research-based one, for directions. Horwood’s (1981) third image of the sponsor teacher, the idiosyncratic model, views teaching as something varying with one’s individual personality and differing from person to person. The task facing the student teacher is to develop a unique style of teaching. The idiosyncratic model of supervision features infrequent contact and entirely uncritical support for the student, for whom it is believed a particular approach may or may not work. This model of supervision parallels Olson’s “friend in the audience” but the friend regularly absents himself, knowing the performer must work out his or her own problems. This model of supervision, according to Horwood (1981, p. 80), inspires teacher confidence (one cannot be wrong); however, it makes the evaluation of teaching and inquiry into classroom events virtually impossible.

Housego and Grimmer (1983) discuss models of student teaching supervision using a categorization rooted in the supervisor’s need to account for two major concerns, reducing the threat often felt by student teachers and making optimum use of the limited time available in the “distributed” practicum. Their categorization, previously published in this journal, identifies facilitative supervisors (those who attach greatest priority to threat concerns) as indulgent or, if they utilize a body of research-based knowledge, deliberative. Performance-based or direct supervisors, on the other hand, are identified as ideological unless they use such a body of research-based knowledge, in which case they are seen to be technological in their orientation. The limitations of these models, the indulgent, the deliberative, the ideological and the technological, are outlined and a tentative resolution combining concerns for reducing threat and using limited time resources productively, is proposed.

Various models of student teaching supervision present an image of a task’s being undertaken in a variety of ways, some implicitly more likely to be satisfactory than others. As one might expect, it is difficult to find explicit guidelines concerning the effective supervision of student teaching. At best, one encounters fairly broad statements concerning the essential characteristics of supervision, generally the supervision of inservice teachers, as in the statement by Kilbourn (1982, p. 2) that “at least three features are vital to the spirit of clinical supervision—autonomy, evidence and continuity,” or Cogan’s (1973, p. 50) view that “the clinical supervisor needs to exhibit both person-oriented and task-oriented behaviour in an integrated fashion.” Student teacher preferences for particular supervisory styles have been investigated by Copeland and Atkinson (1978), Copeland (1980, 1982), and Russell (1979), through assessing student teacher subjects’ evaluations of taped conferences between supervisors and supervisees. Both elementary and secondary student teachers were found to prefer direct as opposed to non-direct supervision in the two earlier Copeland studies. Copeland’s suspicion, that a developmental factor might be operative, was confirmed in the last study in which he found that, toward the end of their field experiences, students came to prefer a non-directive supervisory style as documented by Blumberg (1977) with respect to inservice teachers. Russell’s secondary students commended both direct and indirect supervisor behaviors. However, as Copeland (1982, p. 36) observes, “supervisees’ preferences for supervisory approaches are only one factor in the broader issue of an approach’s appropriateness.” Surely, equally important, though not necessarily distinct from the issue of preference, is that of effect.

Given the diversity of models of student teaching supervision, one must raise questions as to what supervisors of student teachers actually do—which of their actions or behaviors do they perceive, and do the student teachers themselves perceive, as significantly affecting the student teachers' teaching performances either positively or negatively? The analysis of critical incidents in the task of supervising student teaching may enable one to begin to formulate the critical requirements or elements of the supervision of student teachers. The critical incidents technique, described by Flanagan (1949, 1955) consists of collecting and categorizing a comprehensive set of incidents which make a significant contribution, either positively or negatively to the aim of the activity, in this case, student teaching performance. Incidents are to be collected from the individuals who are most competent and in the best positions to make judgments about their significance. Student teachers and supervisors are in the best position to make such judgments in this study.

A search of the literature reveals only one study of student teaching supervision using critical incidents methodology. Dirks (1967), in an investigation of the contributions made by college home economics supervisors, found them to make unique, generally positive contributions to student teachers, primarily through giving information and judgment and stimulating growth. Another somewhat related investigation (Drachelet, 1981) applies this methodology to the study of the clinical practicum setting in nursing education.

The present study is directed toward investigating supervisory behavior by means of the critical incidents technique in order to find the types of incidents perceived by either student teachers or their supervisors as affecting student teaching performance positively or negatively and to systematically categorize these incidents.

Methodology

Sample

The sample consisted of 67 subjects, 44 student teachers, 18 sponsor teachers and 5 faculty advisors. The student teachers included in this sample were drawn from the regular undergraduate teacher education programs and the one-year post-baccalaureate transfer program for graduates of other faculties, all in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia. The sponsor teachers, from Vancouver and five surrounding municipalities, Burnaby, Delta, Richmond, Surrey, and West Vancouver, were engaged in supervising the previously mentioned students, all of whom completed a four-week field experience which was preceded by at least a three-week practicum some four months earlier. The sponsor teachers varied in the length of their experience in working with student teachers, from as little as a single four-week practicum to more than five years. Some of the faculty advisors supervised student teachers in the sample while others did not, and they too had varying amounts of supervision experience.

The sample draws on a large range of teaching situations in both elementary and secondary classes, in which critical incidents in the supervision of student teachers could arise. The critical incidents, therefore, ought to be a reasonably comprehensive set from individuals who are competent and in a good position to identify such incidents in student teaching supervision.

Data Collection

A respondent's booklet² containing the objective of the study, a description of the term "critical incidents," an illustration of a critical incident in the supervision of a student teacher and response sheets for subjects, was prepared.

The booklet was distributed by the researchers to groups of student teachers and individually to faculty advisors immediately following the four week February practicum.

Specially trained graduate students, who were themselves supervising student teachers, distributed the booklets to individual sponsor teachers during the latter weeks of the same practicum. They provided directions and answered questions. Most subjects required about 40 minutes to record, on the average, two incidents.

Editing

The critical incidents collected were independently and carefully read by three judges, summarized, and recorded. Care was taken to remove responses which did not qualify as critical incidents. The objective was to summarize and describe the incidents concisely and precisely without sacrificing their validity. A random sample of five percent of the incidents was set aside for a subsequent check on the comprehensiveness of the categories.

Categorization

The three judges independently examined the edited responses for similarities or common elements, keeping in mind the purpose of the research. Major classes which appeared to subsume the incidents were identified and subsequently modified until all incidents could be classified in a reliable way. Following discussions among the judges, a set of major categories and sub-categories, proposed by Broudy (1965), was adopted and slightly augmented. Descriptions of the categories were then prepared.

Testing for Comprehensiveness

To test whether the critical incidents obtained constituted a comprehensive set of categories, two procedures were carried out:

- a. Two judges independently read the five percent of the incidents retained for this purpose, and a description of the major categories and sub-categories and then categorized each incident.
- b. The total number of incidents was divided, randomly, into a number of equal subsets. Two independent judges each used the categories provided to classify the incidents in each subset. Starting with the first subset, after categorization was carried out, the number of categories used was noted. The same procedure was followed with each subset, recording the cumulative number of categories used. According to the procedures outlined by Andersson and Nilsson (1964), after the first few subsets, the number of categories accounted for, if the categories are comprehensive, does not change.

Results

Nature of the Data

Two illustrations of critical incidents, one positive and one negative, are given below to familiarize the reader with the nature of the data collected and analyzed in this study. Each critical incident emerged from a student teacher-supervisor interaction, and has essentially two parts: (1) a referent setting or background of events against which the incident took place and, (2) the critical incident itself (the action of the supervisor).

Illustration 1: A Positive Critical Incident. The student-teacher had successfully completed three weeks of practice teaching during a practicum. The faculty advisor organized a three-way conference in which the student teacher's efforts were commended.

Illustration 2: A Negative Critical Incident. A sponsor teacher delegated to the student teacher responsibility for showing a film and discussing it with the pupils. The sponsor teacher subsequently questioned both the student teacher and the pupils about the film and openly criticized the interpretation of the film advanced by both the student teacher and the pupils.

Data Analysis

Data analysis involved examining the discrete incidents for similarities or common elements in order to combine them in categories which would increase their usefulness without sacrificing comprehensiveness, specificity, and validity.

In accordance with the purpose of this study, namely, to find the types of incidents perceived to affect student teaching performance, and ultimately to improve the supervision of student teaching performance, categories were sought which encompassed a comprehensive range of problems of practice in the professional preparation of teachers. Broudy (1965) has provided such a set of categories for classifying problems of practice distinctive to the teaching profession. These were adapted for the analysis of the data anticipating that their use might permit one to identify weaknesses and strengths in the supervision of student teaching.

Six categories of incidents having to do with classroom practice, and one category subsuming incidents involving interpersonal relations in student teaching supervision as shown in Table 1 were used for classifying the 125 critical incidents collected. The category on interpersonal relations, unlike the other five adapted from Broudy, was derived from the data.

TABLE 1
CATEGORIZATION OF CRITICAL INCIDENTS

Category Subcategory	Type of Incident					
	Positive		Negative		Total	
	%	f	%	f	%	f
I. Aims and Objectives	2.0	2	0.0	0	1.60	2
II. Organization-Management	57.4	58	12.5	3	48.8	61
III. Curriculum	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
IV. Teaching-Learning	19.8	20	0.0	0	16.0	20
V. Professional Content						
1. Repertory Content	1.0	1	0.0	0	0.8	1
2. Pedagogical Content	2.0	2	0.0	0	1.60	2
VI. Student-teacher—Supervisor Interpersonal Relationships	17.8	18	87.5	21	31.2	39
Total	100.0	101	100.0	24	100.0	125

Table 1 shows the frequency and percentage distribution of the 101 positive and 24 negative incidents over the 6 categories. Nearly 50 percent of the incidents were in the organization-management category. About 30 percent of the incidents were

classified as having to do with interpersonal relationships between student teachers and supervisors. Another 16 percent of the incidents were contextually related to teaching-learning problems. The remaining four percent of the incidents were classified into two categories, aims and objectives and professional content. It is notable that none of the reported incidents addressed matters having to do with curriculum.

Of the 24 negative incidents reported, 21 were related to interpersonal relationships in the student teacher-supervisor interaction, and three pointed to problems in organization and management.

Most of the positive incidents, nearly 60 percent, were directed to significant improvement in organization and management. An additional almost 20 percent indicated progress in teaching and learning strategies, with most of the remaining positive incidents pointing to improved interpersonal relationships between student teachers and supervisors.

Test for Comprehensiveness

Five percent (six) of the critical incidents were selected at random and set aside before categorizing the remaining 119 incidents. The six incidents were subsequently independently categorized by two judges using the list of categories. There was 100 percent agreement between the judges on the categorization of the incidents. This result indicated that the listed categories were reasonably comprehensive and precise.

As a second check on the comprehensiveness of the categories, the 125 incidents were divided randomly into 10 subsets of 12 and one subset of five incidents. The subsets were numbered from 1 to 11 and two judges independently categorized each subset in numerical order finding, as shown in Table 2, that after four subsets, the cumulative number of categories accounted for did not change. This suggested that probably the categories were comprehensive and that no new ones were required.

TABLE 2
CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF CATEGORIES ACCOUNTED FOR
BY TEN SUBSETS OF INCIDENTS

Subsets of Incidents	Cumulative Number of Categories Accounted for by Each Subset
1	4
2	5
3	5
4	6
5	6
6	6
7	6
8	6
9	6
10	6
11	6

It should be pointed out that the six categories of incidents having to do with classroom practice were expected to be reasonably comprehensive on the basis of Broudy's analysis of problems of practice in the teaching profession.

Discussion of Results

Assumptions and Limitations

It was tacitly assumed that the incidents reported by the subjects contributed to the success or failure of student teaching performance. Empirical evidence is needed to establish usable connections between what are reported to be critical incidents in the supervision of student teaching, and pupil learning outcomes. At best, the incidents reported in this study are secondary indicators of successful or unsuccessful student teaching. A strategy of triangulation (Elliott, 1976, p. 9) might address this problem through utilizing not only the reports of student teachers and supervisors with respect to the critical nature of incidents but also securing data with respect to related gains or losses in pupil learning.

The retrospective and somewhat subjective nature of critical incidents data is also acknowledged as a limitation, as is the fact that this study was done in only one faculty of education and therefore has limited generalizability.

Distribution of Incidents Across Categories

Careful examination of Table 1 encourages the reader to focus on the uneven distribution of the critical incidents across the problems of practice identified by Broudy (1965). Fully 96 percent of the critical incidents fall into categories II, IV, and VI together, and 49 percent, almost half, of the total number of incidents have to do with organization and management. Why, one might ask, are so many incidents to be found in the area of organization and management? Clifton (1979, p. 63) describes student teaching as a marginal situation, asserting that the student teacher, a marginal person, is not integrated into the formal structure of the school. Since teachers exert power, based not only on their competence and expertise, but also on their "official" positions, in order to maintain control, student teachers, who have no official positions, might be expected to experience some control problems. Coming into the school, as they generally do, for a brief period which may not correspond to any meaningful division of the school term, they seldom share in planning the year's work, nor have they the opportunity to see it through to completion; consequently, their involvement may be treated as something of a disruptive interlude. Not only do student teachers lack the official status on which teachers at least partially base control, but also they may appear to lack the expertise and competence on which teachers depend for control. Pupils are well aware that student teachers are subject to the coaching and evaluation of not only the regular teacher, but also of visiting supervisors. Can they be viewed as competent, even expert? Gaskell's (1977, p. 14) analysis of the student teaching milieu mentions a number of factors which reinforce the status of student teachers as students rather than teachers. These range from seemingly inconsequential things like not having a mailbox to actually being in some instances presented to the class as a temporary, less than competent, person.

Classroom management and organization is a very visible aspect and a very basic component of the teaching-learning situation; indeed, many teachers would assert that without classroom control, teaching cannot proceed. They find it difficult to alter their own teaching methods for fear of losing control (Ireland & Russell, 1978). One might expect that if teachers sense that control, which they have worked hard to achieve, is at some risk in the practicum situation, they are

likely to take action to right the situation. They would, therefore, generate incidents in the area of management and organization, which also include a variety of other basic matters such as preparing lessons, giving directions, arranging learning groups and securing and using materials and equipment.

As one might expect, a fairly substantial number of critical incidents, 16 percent, focus on teaching and learning and fall, therefore, into Category IV. When management and organizational matters do not demand attention, priority often shifts in this direction and supervisors interact with student teachers in an effort to clarify issues having to do with the implementation and evaluation of teaching-learning strategies.

The second largest category into which critical incidents fall, however, is number VI; 39 percent of the incidents focus on student teachers' interpersonal relationships with supervisors. Zeichner (1980, p. 46) notes that there is a dearth of research on the interaction between student teachers and supervisors. Although a number of studies focus on both the negative and positive outcomes of field experiences, particularly with respect to changes in the self-concept and other attitudes, few really probe to discover what actually transpires during supervisory interaction. The fact that two of five critical incidents in this study relate to the relationship between student teachers and supervisors highlights the importance of the category. The student teacher, as previously explained, lacks elements of the power base relied upon for effectively controlling pupil behavior. As suggested by Sorenson and Halpert (1968) and Fuller and Brown (1975), the student teacher may be enmeshed in a complex and stressful relationship with his or her supervisors who control the prospects of certification and subsequent employment. Constrained by the desire to please both sponsor teacher and faculty advisor, as well as by the nature of the randomly assigned school and class, the student teacher may find it difficult to do his or her best teaching and frustrating to have so little time in which to demonstrate a high degree of competence.

The fact that a critical incident in Category VI in this study is just as likely to have had a negative as a positive effect on the student teacher's teaching performance is evidence of interpersonal relationship problems, for the outcomes of incidents in the other categories are largely positive. Many conflicts, varying interpretations, communication difficulties and misunderstandings are reported. It appears that some sponsor teachers and faculty advisors have problems understanding and playing their respective roles, and they may fail to communicate with each other. Evaluation, an important component of the student teacher's relationships with both the sponsor teacher and the faculty advisor may itself seem threatening and therefore "cloud" the relationships. Blumberg (1977, pp. 9-12) notes that the outsider (supervisor) is a threat when there is ego investment in a lesson and that the freedom of which supervisors speak may be freedom to "do it my way."

Finally, one is struck by the fact that only two incidents fall into Category I, Aims and Objectives, three into Category V, Professional Content, and none into Category III, Curriculum. What stands out most vividly in the results, from Broudy's perspective of teaching as a profession, that is, a craft based on knowledge from the disciplines, is that nearly all of the incidents reported in Categories II and IV, deal with a very restricted range of problems related to the "craft aspects" of the profession. The reader is asked to reflect on problems of practice, both theoretical and practical, in the formulation and justification of aims and objectives of instruction, in the design, justification, implementation and evaluation of curricula and teaching-learning strategies, as well as in organizational and management schemes for instruction, in order to realize how much is apparently missing (or at

least not important enough to note) in the student teacher-supervisor interactions reported in this study. A number of reasons for the lack of critical incidents in these categories might be advanced. For example, student teachers are generally assigned tasks by their sponsors and seldom expected to question the suitability of the recommended materials or the appropriateness of aims and objectives. What is more, they may have problems assessing the needs of pupils they scarcely know, in order to make curricular choices. One also suspects that the temporary involvement of student teachers in schools and their limited knowledge of the provincial curriculum may make it difficult for them to conceive of a year's course of study and its various components and emphases. The fact that Categories I, III and V include incidents one would envision outside the realm of the "survival skills" to which students are known to attach first priority (Gibson, 1976; Dojack, 1982), is further reason for their scarcity in this study. Still, that "craft rules" for organizing and managing instruction and problems of interpersonal relations between student teachers and supervisors should dominate the concerns of both student teachers and supervisors as professionals to such an extent is remarkable indeed. That a field should attract so steadily the attention of some of the best minds in the history of mankind and yet seem to be no more than a "craft" to be learned by apprenticeship (student teaching), is odd to say the least. The question that the results of this study raise is, can we get these student teachers to become genuine professionals? Is there a field of study, in addition to the "craft," worthy of their abilities and their time? That solving the problems of a society approaching crisis in the areas of morality, economics and politics, to name a few, will require less than a generation of professional educators, is difficult to believe. Reflecting again on Cogan's (1973, p. 4) statement that a teacher requires a "sustained, expert program" of supervision in order to relinquish certain classroom behaviors in favor of others, one concludes that student teachers, functioning as they may under considerable pressure, may have even greater needs for quality supervision. Sponsor teachers, faculty advisors and student teachers therefore all stand to benefit from programs designed to improve communication and provide greater understanding of the supervisory process.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented in Vancouver at a June 1983 conference jointly sponsored by the Canadian Association of Teacher Education and the UBC Centre for the Study of Teacher Education.
2. Copies of the respondent's booklet and definitions and examples of the categories used in this study may be obtained from either author, c/o Faculty of Education, 2125 Main Mall, Vancouver, B.C., V6T 1Z5.

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The Cultural Significance of (Male) Children's Playground Activities

Examination of informal playground activities within a single elementary school in Ontario suggests that such activities have a distinctly programmatic element that is directed by the school's staff and constitutes an important part of the culture of the school. In a school where the student population is drawn from a variety of ethnic backgrounds the level of skill and interest that different children display towards these activities is likely to be, in part, culturally located. For the teacher and administrator working in such settings this raises important questions as to which activities, between which groups of students, to attempt to promote and legitimate.

While the education literature in Canada bears witness to a continued interest in questions of "multi-ethnic" and "multi-cultural" education, research that is grounded in actual practice and which endeavors to understand the origins and consequences of specific curriculum processes in ethnically and culturally plural settings remains underdeveloped. This article examines one area of life in schools—namely, children's playground activities—and using data from a single elementary school describes the ways in which certain activities came to be constituted among a particular group of (predominantly male) students.¹ The intent is not to provide a systematic survey of playground activities at the school, but rather, based upon the description and analysis of specific events, to raise some issues regarding the cultural significance of such activities.

The importance that athletics holds for status allocation within schools has been documented (Coleman, 1961; Sage, 1980). However, in a school with an ethnically diverse student population such activities will not only hold different meanings for different students (Tindall, 1975), but will also call for the public display of skills that are in part culturally located and therefore not equally available to all groups of children (Polgar, 1978). These considerations relate directly to a school's Physical Education program as well as a variety of inter- and intra-school competitions, and, it is argued here, are also reflected in the daily routines of children's playground activities.

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As children drift onto school property each morning, collecting in groups in different areas of the playground, or dash out of their classrooms at recess to stake claim to a baseball diamond or part of a soccer pitch, one is given the impression that the playground is very much the domain of the student, and that their activities are strictly student-directed. However, the closer one looks at what goes on at these times, the clearer it becomes that this apparent autonomy is mediated by the influence—both direct and indirect—of the school's staff. The scheduling of recesses, the establishment of school rules, the practice of supervision, equipment provided by the school, the structure of the Physical Education program, and House Competitions organized by the teachers, serve to promote certain activities among particular groups of students, and, as an important corollary, do so at the expense of other possible activities and student groupings.

Thus, the playground becomes an arena for cultural contestation within the school, and for teachers and administrators working in such situations important questions are raised, both with regard to which activities to promote, and, the extent to which it is necessary—and possible—to teach in school the skills required for successful participation in these activities.

The Hidden Curriculum, Ideology and Cultural Capital

In understanding the ways in which particular aspects of school life are constituted and the meanings that these experiences hold for the students involved, Giroux (1981a) suggests that it is necessary to recognize the existence within schools of a dual curriculum—one formal and overt, the other hidden and informal. Defining the hidden curriculum as “those unstated norms, values and beliefs, that are embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships that make up school and classroom life” (Giroux, 1981a, p. 5), he argues that it is a concept that becomes interesting only when attention is directed beyond description to an analysis of the mechanisms and consequences that underlie the hidden curriculum. Such an approach, he suggests, calls for a critical examination of the dominant culture of the school in order to appreciate “where such a culture comes from, whose culture it is that is being implemented, whose interests it serves, and how it comes to be inscribed and sustained in school discourse and practice” (p. 18).

In attempting such an examination, the concept of “ideology” provides a useful starting point for raising questions about the cultural and political interests that underlie many of the educational assumptions that are taken for granted in everyday school life. The concept of ideology, as used here, refers to a set of beliefs, values and assumptions about how the world works, that provide a certain rationality that is tied to a person's position in the social order—a framework of thought that says, “this is acceptable, logical, the best thing to do.” As such it offers a way of understanding a relationship between existing social structures and the sorts of thought practices that people engage in who are located within certain positions in the social structure. Viewed in this way, the analysis of the significance of playground activities within a multicultural setting requires an appreciation of the ideological roots that support a hidden curriculum of the playground, and their implications for the lives of children involved in these activities.

The term “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1977) has been used to explain the way in which schools come to provide different forms of schooling to different socio-economic classes of students (Bourdieu, 1977; Giroux, 1981b). However, in this article the concept is applied to the forms of schooling provided to children with different ethnic backgrounds. Central to this concept is the recognition that a child inherits

from his or her family a particular set of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking and types of dispositions, and that these characteristics are accorded a certain value as the result of what the dominant group labels as the most valued cultural capital. Using this concept to explain the role of schools in reproducing class inequalities, Giroux (1981b) argues that schools

embody class interests and ideologies that capitalize upon a kind of familiarity and set of skills that only specific children have received by means of their family backgrounds and class relations. . . . Those students whose families have a tenuous connection to forms of cultural capital that are highly valued by the dominant society are at a decided disadvantage. (p. 11)

Similarly, Bourdieu (1977) draws attention to the inherent inequalities that exist within an educational system that

offers information and training that can be received and acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of dispositions that is the condition for success of the transmission and of the inculcation of the culture. By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what they do not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture. (p. 494)

When a school promotes particular activities among specific groups of students, whether it is done directly through the formal curriculum of the Physical Education program or indirectly through the provision of resources, decisions are made that define what constitutes valued cultural capital within the culture of the school. It is these decisions that help to establish a framework for the allocation of status that may be based, in part at least, on skills developed outside of the school and differentially available to students from various ethnic backgrounds.

Methodology

The purpose of any ethnographic account is to provide a description and analysis of human social behavior. Such a concern carries with it no standard methodological package.² Nevertheless its subjective and contextual focus, in requiring that the researcher develop a description of the context in which any given piece of observed behavior occurs and attempt to see it from the position of the originator before claiming to know very much about the meaning of that behavior, does serve to emphasize the importance of research strategies using participant-observation as well as a variety of interviewing techniques.

In describing a range of activities and events that took place on the Fernwood playground, observation provided an ever-present dimension of the research methodology, and over the 18-month duration of the study, took on a variety of forms from "just being there" (Willis, 1978) to careful attempts to write detailed accounts of ongoing playground activities among members of the three grade six classes that were the main focus of the study. However, since the primary concern was with understanding the meanings attached to actions rather than the actions themselves, participation provided an essential complement to the observation process and called for the use of a variety of different interview techniques. (In the context of a participant-observation study, however, it should be noted that the concept of an interview need not be that of a single, structured, one-on-one interaction. Rather, it is often more useful to see an interview as an extended conversation—an ongoing process with a variety of strategies, environments, and structures.)

In conducting the research at Fernwood, structured interviews were conducted with the Physical Education (P.E.) teacher and members of staff responsible for co-

ordinating House Competitions at the school, as well as with a group of students who formed the nucleus of one of the soccer games played regularly on the field. Less structured conversations with students and teachers formed an essential part of the data collection process, and the P.E. teacher acted as a “key informant” reacting to various ideas contained in this article, as did, in a less formal fashion, the group of soccer players mentioned earlier.

The end-product of this research is neither a systematic nor an objective survey of playground activities at Fernwood. The events that provide the basis for this article represent only a fraction of the myriad activities that took place over the course of the study and the perceptual and conceptual selectivity of the researcher is readily apparent in, for example, the emphasis given to the senior grades in the school, to structured games, and to predominantly male activities. As a qualitative researcher viewing the world as both socially constructed and infinitely complex, some form of subjective bias is accepted as inevitable. Defending the legitimacy of such studies, Schatzman and Strauss (1973) argue

that another observer—with or without the same general framework or perspective—might develop a very different analytical scheme, conceptual model, or metaphor is to be expected. Perceptual and conceptual selectivity must be taken for granted. Some identical and some different events would become data for other field observers; therefore, all independently developed data and analyses would necessarily be different. One or another analysis may be conceptually superior, but if it fails to contradict the original research, it must be regarded as supplementary or complementary. (p. 134)

In what follows, playground activities that took place within a particular elementary school setting are described in some detail, along with an examination of the ways in which these activities came to be constituted. This account then provides the basis for a discussion of the significance that some forms of play may hold for a child’s sense of self in relation to physical performance within a multicultural school context.

Playground Activities at Fernwood

Fernwood School is a public elementary school located close to the city of Toronto. It had, at the time of the study, a student population of just under 550 drawn from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (see Table 1). The school was fortunate, compared with some of its neighbors, in having a large playing area, located to the south of the school buildings. Surrounding the school to the south and east was a paved playground area some 25 feet wide, and beyond this lay the school’s playing field. In the two far corners, baseball diamonds were marked out with backstops, a dirt infield, and team benches. Across the middle of the field was a soccer pitch with metal goalposts positioned at each end. In addition, dotted around the perimeter of the field were several sandpits—intended for athletics, but in practice used primarily as play areas for the younger grade one and two students.

During the course of the school year a variety of student activities and student groupings emerged and developed on the Fernwood playground. Inspired by such influences as the weather, the seasons in professional sport, House Competitions, and the school’s Physical Education (P.E.) program, these activities exhibited varying levels of popularity and stability. Soccer, a game played mainly by boys at the school, survived all year round with games being played in the winter on snow-covered pitches. As the snow disappeared from the playing field and the professional baseball season got underway, baseball came into its own, competing with soccer in its level of popularity. Later, when the local Toronto Argonauts went into summer training, a couple of boys brought a football to school and threw it to each

TABLE 1
FERNWOOD STUDENT ENROLMENTS: ETHNIC GROUPINGS BY GRADE³

Grade	Total Enrolment	Non Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Groups						Anglo- Canadian
		South Asian	West Indian	South East Asian	Portuguese/ Italian	Others	Total	
K	90	15(17)*	12(13)	5(6)	5(6)	5(6)	42(47)	48(53)
1	81	9(11)	7(9)	4(5)	4(5)	11(14)	35(43)	46(57)
2	84	16(19)	2(2)	4(5)	2(2)	10(12)	34(40)	50(60)
3	76	8(11)	7(9)	4(5)	6(8)	11(14)	36(47)	40(53)
4	72	10(14)	6(8)	1(1)	2(3)	12(17)	31(43)	41(57)
5	59	4(7)	5(8)	1(2)	5(8)	8(14)	23(39)	36(61)
6	66	7(8)	5(8)	3(5)	8(12)	7(11)	30(45)	36(55)
Total	528	69(13)	44(8)	22(4)	32(6)	64(13)	231(44)	297(56)

* Figures in brackets indicate percentages of the total grade level enrolment.

other across the center of the field. However, excluded from the P.E. program and from House Competition, football never became a popular activity with the students. When the P.E. teacher, Mike Marshall, started a fitness program in his classes, several students started to train at recess and lunchtime, jogging around the field, sprinting between the goalposts, and doing sit-ups on the grass. Other games, including “hand-tennis” and badminton, attracted passing attention from a small number of students, but of all the games that took place during the year, soccer and baseball stood out as the most popular and enduring.

Soccer

Among the male students at Fernwood, soccer maintained a high level of popularity throughout the year. While the full-sized soccer pitch attracted little student interest—being too large for their more limited games—each lunch-time and recess several smaller pitches were marked out on various parts of the field with coats and jackets. On one of these pitches during each recess and lunch-time, took place one of the most stable and structured playground games, a soccer match played among a nucleus of students from Mike Marshall’s split grade five/six class. This core of students, six boys and one girl, of whom only one came from what might be labeled an Anglo-Canadian background, consisted of the most skillful and enthusiastic players, with most of them playing for local teams outside of school.⁴ Games were played in a formal fashion with close attention given to the rules, and teams—selected afresh for each game—carefully balanced to ensure a closely contested result. In addition to the core of “regulars,” teams were often enlarged by other (male) members of Mike’s class, all of whom joined in at one time or another, and occasionally by students from another class.

Elsewhere, there were usually several other soccer games going on, but none were played with the same level of skill, or exhibited the same degree of structure or stability. In comparison, students from one of the other grade six classes, containing a higher proportion of Anglo-Canadian students, appeared less enthusiastic

towards soccer and their games less stable in terms of how often they occurred, where they were played, and who participated in them. The players were, in general, less skillful and the games less structured. Players joined and left these games regularly, less attention was given to the formal rules of the game, and from time to time the games would completely disintegrate or convert into “tackle football.” Also, in contrast to the games played among Mike Marshall’s students, the other grade six games were characterized by a higher level of female participation.

Baseball

While soccer retained its popularity throughout the year, the arrival of spring saw baseball achieve a comparable level of interest among students. The school had two baseball diamonds marked out in separate corners of the field, and whenever they were not being used for House matches, several different groups of students would compete for them. Possession was usually contested on the basis of whoever could get out to the diamond first—with the group whose member arrived first holding the right to decide who could join in the game. In contrast to soccer, outside of the established diamonds there was little other baseball activity. Occasionally a few boys would throw a ball to one another and practice with their gloves, but games were confined to those going on in the diamonds. (School rules banned students from bringing their own bats to school on safety grounds.)

Within the baseball diamonds, games took on a variety of forms, usually mirroring the pattern of lead-up games taught in the school’s P.E. program and organized into House Competitions. In House Competition, lead-up games consisted of “Kick-Ball” in the lower grades—a mixture of soccer and baseball in which the “pitcher” rolls a soccer ball to the “batter” who kicks it and then has to run the bases as in baseball. In grades three and four this was replaced by T-Ball—where there is no pitcher but instead a plastic ball is placed on a waist high stand at home plate and the “batter” allowed three swings at it. In the senior grades softball was played, sometimes with the modification that pitchers would pitch to their own team. In P.E. classes, games were usually played by the class as a whole, while House Competitions were divided into boys’ and girls’ leagues. However, at lunch-time and at recess, baseball diamonds tended to be the almost exclusive domain of the boys.

School-Based Determinants of Playground Practice

In order to suggest that playground activities constitute a dimension of school life that contains distinctly programmatic elements, and to examine the origins of these activities, it is necessary to appreciate some of the ways in which they are influenced and controlled by actions and decisions that originate with members of the school staff. In the succeeding pages that deal with organizational determinants of children’s play, it is not argued that these factors alone determine particular activities and friendship groups. (The lack of attention generally paid to the school’s full-sized soccer pitch would clearly caution against such definitive statements.) However, as Lacey (1970) succinctly describes the situation, “friends are . . . chosen from the population that the organization makes available” (p. 82). He qualifies this observation with the statement that

the suggestion here is not that the organization determines specific friends, but that it limits the group from which friends will be chosen and that it will increase the solidarity of a particular category of pupils if special organizational arrangements bring them together. (p. 79)

This raises the question of the extent to which particular structural arrangements act to promote or to suppress cultural diversity and to encourage playground activ-

ities and groupings that are culturally inclusive or exclusive. For minority students, an important issue becomes the extent to which these organizational structures allow for the participation in activities that are culturally meaningful (probably with other students for whom the activity has a similar importance), while at the same time maintaining access to a full participation in the rest of the social life of the school and its status allocating activities.

The Classroom Unit

In the formal organization of Fernwood School, it was the homeroom class that represented the basic unit of operation. School started each morning with Opening Ceremonies conducted as a class activity, and with only a few exceptions such as withdrawal classes and split grade classes, students spent all of their lesson time together as a class, even though they would often be divided into different groups within the class for different activities.

A similar pattern was reflected in the students' playground activities and reinforced by the allocation of resources by the school staff. On the school field the classroom unit remained relatively unaltered, unless it was replaced by structured and teacher-directed House Competition. Although everyone did not play in the same class games—in the formal classroom setting there were often several distinct activities going on at the same time—it was very rare for class groupings to break down entirely on the playground. More often classes remained self-contained with their own members, activities, and territory.

One of the clearest illustrations of this was provided by a soccer game played regularly among a group of children from Mike Marshall's class. The comments of three of its participants reflect this class solidarity, as well as the degree of teacher control that stemmed from ownership of the class soccer ball.

J.Y.: "Tell me, these soccer games I've seen you playing most days . . . Are kids from other classes allowed to play?"⁵

Jacinto: "Some kids from other classes do . . . sometimes."

Mickey: "In the afternoons (lunchtimes), but in the mornings we keep it to our fives and sixes."

J.Y.: "Tell me then, who are 'the regulars?' Who plays nearly all the time?"

Mike: "Peter Bernardo . . . most of the grade six boys [in our class] . . . Only one girl in the whole class, that's Terri. She's the only one that comes out."

J.Y.: "If the others came out would you let them play?"

Mike: "We'd have to, or they'd go argue with Mr. Marshall."

J.Y.: "Is it his ball? Can he make you let them play?"

Jacinto: "Yeah . . . Like . . . if we keep arguing he just takes the ball away."

J.Y.: "So it's a school ball, not yours or Mickey's or . . ."

Mickey: ". . . No . . ."

J.Y.: "And each class has its own ball?"

Jacinto: "Yes."

Mickey: "Some of them. . . . Because they lose theirs and then they can't have another."

The class soccer ball in this context took on an important regulatory function, not only because it influenced which activity would take place, but also who would be allowed to take part in that activity. Children from other classes were not prevented from trying to join the game, but acceptance lay in the hands of other students and rejection was not uncommon. However, exclusion within the class group was not permitted by the staff, and as was noted above, would be expected to provoke sanctions from the classroom teacher.

The House System

House Leagues and House Competitions at Fernwood, closely tied to the school's Physical Education program, constituted one of the more direct ways in which teachers structured students' extra-curricular activities. Distinct from the age-specific relationships reinforced by the homeroom, House systems provide a framework for establishing vertical (non age-specific) sets of student groupings. However, within the school such friendships were, in general, tenuous and tied to the purposes of the House Competition (Polgar, 1978).

Explaining the purpose of the House system at Fernwood, the coordinator of House Competitions in the senior part of the school stressed their role in increasing student involvement in extra-curricular activities, while at the same time acknowledging that an emphasis on participation put pressure on those students who were not interested or skillful in particular activities. He commented:

"Before [the introduction of the House system] we used to have the kids come and sign up if they wanted to play. The kids would come and sign up, and you'd arrange your own teams from who wanted to play. And that was nice because you knew when you called a game that kids would be willing to come out.

I think one of the ideas with House Leagues was that some of the kids were afraid to come out . . . or just the fact that they had to sign up, a lot of kids wouldn't do it. [With the House system] they'd be on a team and they could just show up . . . at least just to watch . . . and get involved and get a House point. It gives them a chance to play the game perhaps when they wouldn't have signed up. But then it's got its problems, because you have kids on Houses who probably don't even want to play the sport, but they're on the list. But it gives every kid, I think, a chance if they want to get out and try it."

House Competitions provided a major link between the formal curriculum represented by the school's P.E. program and the informal activities of the playground. While the focus of the P.E. program at the school was on skill development in a variety of different activities, often in the form of lead-up games, House Competitions were used as an opportunity to apply those skills in a competitive situation. Describing something of the relationship between P.E. classes and House competition, Mike Marshall explained:

"I really try to get a good range of different games [in the P.E. program], but just 'lead-up' games, not the full-scale games with all the rules. But there's just not time to expand it all into House Leagues. If you decide to do a sport [in House Competitions] it's going to take at least four to six weeks, and I never spend that amount of time on one sport [in P.E.]."

Two games that did not figure significantly in school activities—either as part of the P.E. program, in House Competition, or as a part of the students' playground activities were hockey and football, even though as spectator sports they were closely followed by many of the students. As far as Mike Marshall was concerned, football was not an appropriate school sport because it was expensive, had a high injury rate, and little appeal for female students. He argued:

"There's really no 'lead-up' to football at all. . . . And I don't know if I really should, because . . . there's not too many football leagues around for girls, really, are there? And it's a really expensive sport. I think you're going to see it less and less in high schools. . . . If there's a chance of injury then you're less likely to see it."

Hockey, as a participation sport, did not approach soccer or baseball in its popularity at Fernwood. Hockey sticks were not allowed at school, (a rule justified on the grounds of student safety), and while floor hockey was played in the school's P.E. program, skating was not promoted. This was justified by the P.E. teacher both in terms of access to nearby facilities, and the observation that many of the students did not own their own skates, making the provision of any sort of program too expensive. The teacher observed:

"Normally we don't go to an arena with them. . . . The only arena [nearby] is Fernhill Park . . . that's the nearest one. We've been there skating. And it's interesting because you'll find that four or five kids don't have skates. And that's another problem in itself. There are a lot of ethnic backgrounds [among the students at the school] and I bet if you asked them most of them don't have skates. . . . Take Terri for example . . . they're too expensive. You can give a kid a soccer ball and they can play all year. Maybe the school should be providing more, but it's the money."

At Fernwood, the House system provided both a source of legitimation for certain activities and a framework for resource allocation. The foregoing comments, while pointing to the importance of financial considerations in the selection of appropriate activities for a school to promote, also touches on issues of both ethnicity and social class as they relate to the students' orientations towards particular activities (Elias & Dunning, 1972).

Only those games that were promoted by the school staff, either through the P.E. program or through House Competition, gained widespread popularity as playground activities. However, this does not mean that such teacher-centered decisions were not influenced by a perception of student interest, or that students played no part in determining their own choice of playground activity. It is, therefore, necessary to give some attention to student-centered determinants of playground practices before looking at the significance that various activities may hold for education in a multi-cultural context.

Student-Centered Determinants of Playground Practice

While the sorts of organizational factors discussed above inevitably exerted an important influence on what took place on the Fernwood playground, they inadequately explained actual practice, for "children structure and modify their environment just as they are structured and modified by it" (Mehan, 1980, p. 148).

While the school's staff fostered certain playground activities, the students in responding to these pressures were far from passive actors. Students could, and did, choose to ignore the goalposts provided for them across the center of the playing field; could, and did, bring their own equipment to school, organize their own games, and make their own rules as to who could participate in them. Likewise, particular student groups were promoted through classroom placements and through the House system, but these provided only the broad, and sometimes ephemeral, determinants of student interactions. In looking beyond organizational determinants of playground practice, one student-centered determinant that appears particularly important and interesting in deciding what activities will take place, and among which students, is that of skill.

Skill

In discussing the purposes of the House system at Fernwood, attention has already been drawn to the tension that exists between the desire for participation and the requirements of competition—a tension that revolves around the issue of skill, or "form" (Waller, 1932). The relationship between the P.E. program and the House Competitions provided the opportunity for the skills required for a particular activity to be introduced in the school curriculum. However, children do not arrive at school equally knowledgeable and skillful in different physical activities. Rather, it is argued here, the level of skill that they demonstrate in school is likely to be as much a part of the cultural capital that they bring to the school as it is the product of their school experiences. The significance of out of school experiences is reflected in the comments of a grade five student who had been at the school, and in Canada, for only one year:

'I was on Green House last year, but I didn't come out for any games. I didn't know the rules. . . . And there was the language. But over the summer I learned to play over at the apartments.'

Discussing the cultural significance of games, Waller (1932) describes them as "the most interesting phase of competitive athletics—complex and elaborate cultural patterns" (p. 113), and argues that such skills are usually passed on through a process of "cultural diffusion." The following comparison of two soccer games among different grade six classes illustrates the ways in which cultural background may influence individual skill levels, and how the level at which the game is played may come to influence who will participate in them.

Mike Marshall's Class Soccer Game

At 12:30 Jacinto and Terri come onto the school field kicking a soccer ball between themselves. They are both in Mike's split grade five/six class, and are good friends. Jacinto is in grade six—having repeated grade three earlier in his school career. He is one of the tallest students in grade six, well-built and athletic, and "soccer mad." His "school uniform" for all but the coldest months (when he'd still be kicking a ball around somewhere) consists of a soccer shirt, shorts and sneakers, and he plays the game at every opportunity—at recess, lunchtime, after school in the local park, and for a local junior team. Terri, the only girl in Mike's class to regularly join in the soccer games, is popular with both the boys and the girls in the class. Although she is in grade five she is the smallest student in the class and could easily pass for a grade three student. However, whatever she lacks in size she more than makes up for with enthusiasm and skill. She has played soccer most of her life, in Guyana before coming to Canada, and she plays with incredible energy and enthusiasm.

As they reach the end of the field Terri drops her McDonald's backpack to mark one goalpost and they use a fencepost to mark the other—this way they can shoot against the fence that separates the school field from the adjoining property. (They are the first people onto the playing field but choose not to use the goalposts in the center of the field.) With just the two of them one goes in goal while the other shoots at goal. Jacinto decides that Terri should go in goal first.

Jacinto: 'You go in first.'

Terri: (Obviously not overjoyed at the prospect—perhaps she isn't totally fearless!)
'Woopy-do . . . OK, but don't shoot too hard.'

Jacinto: (Teeing the ball up with his left foot.) 'Can't kick with my left, so you should be able to save this.'

Terri: 'You're joking.'

Jacinto has a hard shot in both feet, particularly for Terri who is so much smaller than him, but he shoots from a long way out, and only occasionally does Terri decide that "discretion is the better part of valor," and jump out of the way of his shot.

After a while they change positions and Terri shoots from much closer in. Her first shot flies over the fence, and glancing around to see that there is no duty teacher too close at hand, she scurries through a nearby hole in the fence to retrieve it. The next time that she shoots her shoe comes flying off and rockets into the goal and they both collapse in fits of laughter.

As they continue their game Rob (Reynolds) comes over to join them. He is a "regular" and his acceptance unquestioned. Jacinto remains in goal and Rob and Terri play against one another, having first established the rules; is it to be "hands" or "no hands?" They agree on "no hands"—they can't use their hands to control the ball—and the game gets underway, with Terri showing her inevitable enthusiasm, rushing non-stop after the ball and throwing herself fearlessly into tackle after tackle, her shoelaces flailing and her smile irrepressible.

Around one o'clock, Mike (Soo) heads over to the game, calls for a pass from Terri, takes it and flicks the ball over to Rob, and the old game comes to an end and is replaced

by a two-a-side game. Mike and Jacinto team up together and Rob and Terri head off down the field to mark out their goal with a couple of jackets. The new game has hardly started when Peter (Bernardo), Leif (Johansen), and Mickey (Ostos) come over and ask to join in. They are all in the same class and play regularly together, but they still spend a few minutes arguing about the sides and the rules—"no hands" and "no checking"—before the game gets started and it is agreed that there will be no more "joiners."

Debbie's Class Soccer Game

A different definition of performance was illustrated in the games of soccer that were played among students from Debbie's grade six class.

It is lunchtime and a group of Debbie's grade six students are kicking a soccer ball about in one of the metal goals, but it appears to be a very loosely structured affair. There are no teams, but Patrick is in goal while the rest of the group of about eight play "all against all," shooting into the single goal. Patrick spends a fair amount of his time swinging on the cross-bar as he waits for shots on goal. After playing for a few minutes, Beryl and Sharon break off from the game and do some gymnastics on the cross-bar before straddling it to watch the others play. (This doesn't last for long, however, as they become the targets for the other players' shots, and the duty teachers' disapproving glares.) They climb down and rejoin the game. By now the use of hands is widespread and the game converts into "tackle football"—someone picks up the ball and runs towards the goal, sides develop spontaneously as friends call for a pass while others tackle the ball carrier and try to wrestle the ball away and score by kicking or throwing the ball past Patrick in goal.

Among the players in Mike's class match, only one player, Rob Reynolds, came from an Anglo-Canadian family, while each of the others came to the school from a background where soccer was a familiar sporting activity. All of the players played soccer outside of school, and most played for local junior teams—in the case of Jacinto and Peter, for the local Portuguese community club side. Their games were highly structured and skillful, and their decision to limit sides once all of the regular members were playing excluded other less skillful players from the game (although such a decision could not be enforced in the face of a persistent class member). On other occasions, other members of the class did join in the games but a high level of skill was expected and mistakes subjected to a mixture of laughter and frustration from the regular players. In the selection of teams, it was the skillful players who were most sought and fought over, while the less skillful were left to last—at which stage teams were as likely to give up a player as to take him, with comments such as, "You can have him" or "We don't want him."

Among the students from Debbie's class, the majority were from Anglo-Canadian backgrounds, and only one played for a local team outside of the school.⁶ Their games lacked the degree of structure found in Mike Marshall's class game, and the selection of teams when it occurred put no great premium on skill, as the outcome of the game seemed relatively unimportant. Team membership shifted fluidly as new players joined in and others dropped out, and rules likewise altered at the whim of the group. Juxtaposed next to each other on the school playing field, the two matches provided a striking contrast in the interpretation of the game of soccer.

Conclusions: Culture, Self and Physical Performance

In attempting to examine something of the roots of particular playground practices in a single school, it has been suggested that there exists a culture and a social structure to the playground where acceptance and status are based, in part, upon

the public display of physical performance in specific activities. This culture incorporates aspects of the broader culture of the school, promoted by the school's staff and school board guidelines, and the cultures of the community reflected in the cultural capital that children bring to the school—both in terms of the importance that they attach to different activities and of the skills relevant to these activities that they acquire and develop outside of school.

Viewed from the perspective of multicultural school practices, it is important not only to understand how particular practices come to be generated and supported within the school curriculum—always in the face of competing demands upon limited educational resources—but also to consider the extent to which these activities perform culturally defining and culturally legitimating functions within the school. Consideration of these issues makes it possible to raise the issue of the extent to which, in the area of play, successful participation within the life of the school and of the different cultures of the community are mutually compatible.

Redmond (n.d.) has observed that “despite the mass standardization of international sports today and the shared experiences in common athletic endeavors, a culture may still retain some peculiar and unique sporting traditions” (p. 5), and that sports may alternately be used as an “agent of ethnic solidarity . . . or an agent in the assimilation process” (p. 29). At Fernwood, it may be argued that soccer provided an important source of status that was culturally inclusive to a number of different ethnic groups. Conversely, Mike Marshall's comments about the place of hockey within the school curriculum suggests that, both culturally and socially, promotion of the sport at the school would, for many students, do little to reinforce their sense of either ethnic or class identity.

Recognition of the cultural significance of various playground activities at Fernwood also serves to highlight important issues regarding the equality of opportunity that exists for students to participate *successfully* in the status allocating activities of the playground. Within the school considerable emphasis was placed by the staff on promoting student involvement in extra-curricular activities (albeit with a somewhat contradictory attempt to play down the competitive aspects of play). Everyone was encouraged to become involved in House Leagues, and stress was placed on giving everyone the opportunity to participate in class play activities. However, regardless of the extent to which competition was played down by the staff—through, for example, the allocation of House Points for taking part in a game, or even turning out to watch—successful involvement in most playground activities called for not simply participation but rather some public display of skill. Participation without the appropriate level of skill was likely to lead to peer criticism, informal exclusion, and negative status allocation.

For a school's staff this situation creates a potential dilemma when their concern with participation—that all children should share equally in the resources allocated to play—is confronted with the requirements of ability that have a culturally specific dimension. Unless this tension can be resolved, the staff risk promoting, in the name of fairness and equality, a system that is culturally discriminatory and which forces certain students into activities in which they have only limited opportunities for success. Efforts to resolve this dilemma may involve teaching the appropriate skills in the school's P.E. program, so that schools do not, in the words of Bourdieu (1977) quoted earlier, demand “of everyone alike that they have what they [schools] do not give” (p. 494). However, since the development of skills usually requires a prolonged period of practice and refinement, such a strategy may serve as only a partial equalizing strategy.

As with other areas of school life, this tension between participation and skill level draws attention to two different concepts of equality that are embedded in this dilemma. One requires only that all students have the same opportunities to take part in different activities—an issue of access—and the other demands that achievement within these activities should not be culturally exclusive—an issue of success. For the school administrator and the teacher, such issues, manifested on the school playground, pose further questions and challenges to the meanings, aims, and purposes of schooling in a multicultural context, as well as the extent to which practices within one area of school life, such as the playground, can be consistent with those in other areas.

Notes

1. This paper is taken from a larger ethnographic account of daily life in a multicultural context carried out in a single southern Ontario elementary school (referred to here as Fernwood School) over an 18-month period from January, 1978 to June, 1979 and reported fully in Young (1984). Although the arguments contained in this paper are directed towards playground activities (and primarily boys' activities), it is suggested that they could be equally applied to other areas of a school's "extra-curricular" programs.
2. Wolcott (1976) suggests the following partial inventory of ethnographic techniques: Participant-Observation, Key Informant Interviewing, Structured Interviews, Questionnaires, Unobtrusive Measures, Ratings and Rankings, Other Psychological Research Instruments, Life Histories, The Semantic Differential Technique, and Technical Equipment in Fieldwork. Willis (1978) suggests a not dissimilar cluster of methods: Participant-Observation, "Just Being Around," Group Discussion, Informal Interviews, and the use of Existing Surveys.
3. It is essential to recognize the limitations of any such classification, and the way in which such categories are constructions of the researcher. Data for this table came from the students' Official Record Cards. These cards contained information on the students' names, parents' names, addresses, age, date of registration at Fernwood, previous school experience, present grade, and religion. In addition, a photograph of the student was stapled to each card. For South Asian, West Indian, and South East Asian classifications the primary criteria used were racial traits evident in the photographs. For the Italian and Portuguese grouping a composite assessment was based on names, religion, and sometimes previous school experience and enrolment in English-as-a-Second-Language programs. In the final category, "Other Non Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Groups" a variety of indicators were used including noted linguistic differences, previous (non-Canadian) schooling, religion and names.
In ascribing students to the global categories, it must be recognized that such ascription may hold little meaning for particular students, and further, that the criteria used offer only a single definition of ethnicity—one that is fraught with conceptual problems. Yet, at the general level, the definitions do provide something of the sense in which the teachers at the school came to see and describe the students as being "multicultural."
4. This group of players (given fictitious names in this account) consisted of two boys from Portuguese-Canadian backgrounds, one from a Korean-Canadian background, and one from an Anglo-Canadian background. In addition, it consisted of three students who had come to Canada part way through their school careers, one from Mexico, one from Sweden (via Spain), and one from Guyana.
5. In reporting student and teacher speech in this article a distinction is made between comments that are reported verbatim and those which were reconstructed from partial observational notes. The former are indicated by the use of double quotation marks (" "), while the latter are enclosed by single quotation marks (' ').
6. The purpose here is not to argue that soccer is "the ethnic game" (Redmond, n.d.) in Canada, without any significance among Anglo-Canadians. However, it is suggested that despite the growing popularity of the sport in North America among Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Canadians, it has yet to attain the cultural importance that it holds for many other people.

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On Becoming a Teacher: The Student Teacher's Perspective

The process of becoming a teacher is described from the vantage point of student teachers. Four student teachers were followed throughout three university semesters involving student teaching. Through a combination of data gathering techniques (classroom observation, informant interviewing, document analysis, stimulated recall interview sessions and video recording), the researcher sought to highlight how student teachers defined themselves in the process of becoming a teacher. The study was based on the theory of symbolic interaction and a "grounded theory" approach was used in the data analysis.

Two major themes were identified: (1) Feeling like a Teacher and (2) Adopting Classroom Teacher Behavior. Although each student teacher experienced the practicum in a unique way, a set of prevailing perspectives common to all four participants emerged in response to the situational pressures of the practicum: Self as Teacher, Taking the Class Through the Lesson, Finding a Happy Medium, Taking the Path of Least Resistance, Securing Control and Justifying Behavior. Interpretation of these themes and of the perspectives toward teaching which evolve in a practicum setting is valuable in uncovering knowledge about what is learned in becoming a teacher.

The interpretation of the process of becoming a teacher through the student teaching experience is a relatively new area of study in the field of teacher education. Most studies in teacher education have focused on the processes of occupational socialization as they exist in the schools. Very little research has been conducted on the process of becoming a teacher. Attention has been focused on the product and not on the process. In view of the fact that the student teaching experience has long been regarded as the *sine qua non* of preservice teacher education, there is a need to know what happens to "teachers in training" as they move through the practicum. This article reports selected findings from a study which investigates the process of becoming a teacher from the vantage point of the prospective teacher going through the practicum experience (Tardif, 1984).

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Overview of the Study

Purpose

Operating from the theoretical orientation of symbolic interaction, the researcher sought to interpret the meaning that student teachers attach to their practicum experiences. Four exploratory questions guided the study: (1) What aspects of the practicum experience take on meaning for the student teacher? (2) Is the meaning transformed as the student teacher progressively moves through the various phases of the practicum? (3) How is the meaning handled and modified by the student teacher in dealing with significant others in the practicum setting (teachers, students, university supervisors)? (4) Is the meaning transferred into practice?

Participants

Four student teachers (two male and two female) became key informants over an 18-month period, representing the different phases of the practicum experience. An important criterion in the selection of the student teachers was the willingness of these individuals to relate and share their feelings and experiences with the researcher.

Setting

The participants in this study were secondary route education students in a small bilingual faculty of a large university. The practicum experience is a major component of the teacher education program at this university. The three phases of the practicum are distributed over three university semesters. Both on-campus instruction and school-based experiences make up the content of the practicum courses. Although each phase has its own specific emphases and distinguishing characteristics, the three phases are designed to be sequential, cumulative, and complementary. Students normally begin phase I of their practicum experience in the second or third year of the four year BEd program and complete the major portion of the practicum (phases II and III) in year four.

Research Procedures

Given the basic tenets of symbolic interaction and the intention of this study, the researcher sought a research design which would allow for an internal view of student teaching. The theory of symbolic interaction makes certain claims about the nature of human behavior and the best way of coming to understand it. The methodological implications of symbolic interaction require that the "student of human society" catch the process of interpretation by immersing oneself in the social situation under study. Blumer explains:

The study of action would have to be made from the position of the actor. One would have to see the operating situation as the actor sees it. You have to define and interpret the objects as the actor interprets them. (Blumer, 1966, p. 542)

The researcher attempted to bring out the insider's view of reality through the use of field research techniques. A variety of data collection techniques was utilized in the study: informant interviewing, classroom observation, video recording, stimulated recall interview sessions and document study of weekly journals provided by the student teachers.

The data produced by the research techniques chosen resulted in predominantly written materials. Approximately 1000 typed pages were generated from the taped interviews. Information obtained from the records of classroom observation and the weekly journals of the student teachers provided additional data. The student

teachers were given typewritten copies of each previous interview and asked if they agreed with the statements that had been made. This led the participants to clarify and elaborate on their original responses. The approach considered most valuable for studying the data obtained was content analysis utilizing the "grounded theory" approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Data were collected, coded and analyzed concurrently so as to identify relations that would merit further study. Final analysis was undertaken after the completion of field work. In the final stage of data analysis, the written materials obtained were analyzed and coded. Labels or category titles were generated to account for the phenomena described in each paragraph. The original list of categories obtained was then reduced and subsumed under a "smaller set of higher level concepts" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 110). This stage of data analysis resulted in the identification of six major themes: Awareness of Self, Views on the Teaching-Learning Process, Experiencing the Practicum, Feeling like a Teacher, Transformation, and Adopting Classroom Teacher Behavior.

Major Findings

The present paper focuses on the findings related to the development of perspectives toward teaching which evolved in the practicum. For each of the participants, the practicum offered different opportunities for learning the role of teacher. There were, however, similarities or commonalities in the ways that the participants reacted to the student teaching situation. In this study, a set of prevailing perspectives common to all four participants emerged from the themes. The term perspective as used in this study is defined by Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961) as being composed of: (1) a definition of the situation, (2) a disposition to act as dictated by the situation and (3) criteria of judgment. Perspectives developed and modified during the practicum related to the development of "self as teacher" and to the patterned way of thinking and acting that characterized the conduct of the participants in the adoption of classroom teacher behavior: "taking the class through the lesson," "finding a happy medium," "taking the path of least resistance," "securing control," and "justifying behavior." A description of each of these themes and perspectives is presented.

Self as Teacher

The perspective of self as teacher entails two separate but complementary processes: (1) seeing oneself see as teacher and (2) establishing a teaching identity. The expression "seeing oneself see" refers to the process by which the subject can stand back and become the object of his own analysis. In symbolic interaction theory, the self is formed through the "definitions" made by others. Meltzer (1967) describes the theory put forward by Mead (1934) in which the individual comes to view himself:

It is only by taking the role of others that the individual can come to see himself as an object. The standpoint of others provides a platform for getting outside oneself and thus viewing oneself. The development of the self is concurrent with the development of the ability to take roles. (Meltzer, 1967, p. 10)

In this study, the participants' abilities to stand back and analyze their actions as teacher increased as they progressively began to feel more comfortable in their role of teacher. By "taking the role of the other," in this case of the teacher, the participants called out responses in the students, the cooperating teacher, the faculty consultant and their peers. In the terminology of symbolic interaction theory, the participants were able to project themselves into the position of the other and imagine how they felt. They were able to anticipate probable reaction of others to their behavior.

The capacity of “seeing oneself see” developed in a manner parallel to the construction of a teaching identity. In the initial stages of forming a teaching identity, the participants were able to define themselves as teachers only as it related to their personal concerns of adequacy and survival. At a later stage, when they had had more experience taking on the role of teacher, they were able to see themselves from the standpoint of the other and thus their concerns shifted from an emphasis on “me” to an emphasis on “they,” the students. Through interaction in the classroom setting, the participants began to conduct themselves in a manner consistent with the intentions and expectations that are defined as part of the composite role of teacher.

Becoming a teacher for the novice can be likened to an adventure into the unknown somewhat like driving a car for the first time. Having been a passenger in a car on many occasions does not alleviate your concerns about being in the driver’s seat. The landmarks may be familiar but each curve, each road sign, each signal becomes of paramount importance. Initial feelings of insecurity, inadequacy and discomfort set in. The practicum places the participants in the driver’s seat. It is a time for learning the role of teacher and also one of experiencing the pressures associated with that role. As such, the participants experienced stress and anxiety.

The establishing of a teaching identity followed a series of stages, each stage characterized by a set of particular concerns. These stages have been well documented by Iannaccone (1963), Fuller and Brown (1975), Bernstein (1978), and others. Anticipating what would actually occur in student teaching aroused concerns revolving around the personal self of the participants. In the weeks preceding the practicum placement, the participants expressed feelings of eager expectancy mingled with those of anxiety and uncertainty about the forthcoming practicum experience. They worried about being liked by students, about being able to handle the “kids,” about how they would do. Like the first time driver, attention became so focused on the act of driving they were unable to relax and think of the journey. They were unable to relate to what was happening around them. They were consumed by what was happening to “me.” In the first few weeks of teaching, the student teachers made the following comments: “I am more preoccupied with myself than with the students. My preoccupation is with how I will transmit the subject matter.” Another student states: “I am scared so I think about myself, what I will do.” Concern with the personal self shifted to a concern for the professional self in the first few weeks of actual teaching.

Developing a Professional Self-Image

In the process of becoming a teacher, student teachers increasingly appropriate behaviors that they perceive as belonging to the “teacher identity” and evolve a conception of self as teacher which they believe will be ratified by the reference group. Though the participants in this study were often not able to state explicitly what becoming a teacher meant, they had an implicit understanding of what being a teacher entailed. They would continually assess themselves according to a set of behaviors which they perceived and identified as representative of the teacher identity. Feelings of inadequacy were often expressed by the student teacher in the process of rating oneself against these “norms.” For the most part, however, they quickly learned to adopt the role appropriate to the teaching identity.

Acting like a teacher, especially in the initial stages of student teaching, is related to knowledge of subject matter and communication of subject matter. Being a teacher in the eyes of the student teacher means being an expert in the subject area taught. Student teachers feel very inadequate in a situation where they are not

thoroughly confident in their knowledge of subject matter and ability to communicate subject matter. Fuller (1971) identifies subject matter adequacy as an initial stage of concern for student teachers. There was a sentiment on the part of the participants that a teacher should be busy at all times directing student activity. They were often uncomfortable in their role as teacher when they were not actively directing pupil activity. In fact a major perspective which evolved was labeled "taking the class through the lesson." Teaching came to be defined to a great extent in terms of this perspective. There was a sense that successful teachers accomplished what they had set out to do.

Being credible as a teacher was perceived by the participants as being dependent on one's ability to handle the students. One of the rules learned by the participants in the practicum related to the need to create a distance between themselves as teacher and the students. In phase I of student teaching, the students would often refer to the need to get down to the students' level, to abolish the traditional image of "teacher." With increased time spent in the classroom in phases II and III, the participants began to speak of the necessity of creating a distance. The emerging separation of identification with students was a step along the path of establishing a teaching identity (Hawke, 1980). The concept of "creating a distance" was intertwined with the concept of maintaining order in the classroom and the concept of getting respect. The role of the teacher became defined in terms of these concepts.

Feeling like a teacher involved a sense of proprietorship which was attained only when the participants felt that they were autonomous and responsible for what occurred in the classroom. This occurred when the participants took over most classroom teaching duties. They recognized, however, that a sense of proprietorship included, in addition to full responsibility for the preparing and giving of lessons, the establishing of a relationship between teacher and students in which each participated jointly in the construction of the social world of the classroom. The constraints of student teaching did not allow for the construction of a personal classroom reality by the participants. They nonetheless perceived the process of establishing a relationship with students as being vital to the definition of a teacher. At times, the participants expressed resentment that they were unable to establish their own class climate and had to act within the social boundaries of the classroom as defined by someone else.

Adopting Classroom Teacher Behavior

In adopting classroom teacher behavior whether in the choice of teaching method used, classroom management approach or ways of relating with the students, the participants adopted patterns for responding based on the interpretations they made of the situation. The following short-run situational perspectives emerged as the participants adopted classroom teaching behavior in the student teaching setting.

Taking the Class Through the Lesson

In the process of becoming a teacher, the participants developed an orientation to teaching that can be typified by the expression "taking the class through the lesson" (Iannaccone, 1963). Throughout their practicum experience, the participants defined teaching in terms of this perspective. Teaching was viewed in terms of selecting the content, the materials and the activities with which students were to be involved within an established timeline. These three elements gave rise to the tasks that made up a lesson. This is consistent with research in teacher education which

indicates that the planning carried out by teachers is focused on creating tasks and that much of interactive teaching is focused on the implementation of these tasks. Shavelson and Stern (1981, pp. 462-464) in their review of the research on teacher thought, judgment, and decisions speak of a task once formulated as acting like a plan, a mental image or script which the teacher carries out in the classroom. These images or scripts become routinized to the extent that once begun they typically are carried out. The following comment made by one of the informants illustrates the importance of routine during interactive teaching:

I think I sort of follow my patterns all the time, more or less. Especially if you're successful in the beginning with a certain pattern. You might try a little variety but I don't think you'll ever go very far from your basic pattern. (Informant quote)

Much of the research on teacher thought and decision making indicates that "the teacher's primary concern is maintaining the activity flow" (Shavelson & Stern, 1981, p. 462). Congruent with these findings, the student teachers were very concerned about completing a lesson/unit within the timelines they had established. "I want to finish that unit" (Informant quote). Student interventions, school activities, and unexpected occurrences were viewed as conflicting with the objectives of getting through the lesson as planned. In large part, the participants of the study judged their teaching to have been successful when they felt they had gotten through the tasks of the lesson as planned.

Finding a Happy Medium

For student teachers having no prior teaching experience to fall back on, decision making appeared to be guided by the perspective of "*le juste milieu*." The perspective of *le juste milieu* refers to the belief that the best way to achieve a balance between two opposing forces or pulls is to strike a mid-point between the two. This belief dictates that the individual choose a middle ground when making educational decisions—in reconciling prescribed curriculum content with the level of the students, in reconciling teacher goals and needs with the goals and needs of the students, in reconciling the role of teacher as transmitter of knowledge with that of teacher as guide or friend, and in reconciling the need to be firm with the need to be flexible.

Taking the Path of Least Resistance

As the participants passed through the rites of passage of student teaching, they developed a perspective for avoiding confrontation or conflict. This perspective can be labeled as "taking the path of least resistance" (Cunningham, 1979). The participants attempted to avoid conflict especially in their relationships with their cooperating teacher and with students.

All the cooperating teachers I had were very different and I think I did well with all of them. The reason I did well was because I made it a point to adapt myself to them and to their situation. I think you have to do that as a student teacher. If you're not prepared to do that then be prepared to have a tough time. . . . During the student teaching period you've got to find the way of working with that person (the cooperating teacher). And the student teacher has to—don't expect the cooperating teacher to do it. (Informant quote)

As a student teacher, it was easier to accede to the way things were than to attempt to change a situation within the limited time period they were in the school. There was continual pressure on the student teachers to conform to the way things were generally done.

I have the impression that if I were to spend my time trying to oppose certain things that are presently occurring it would be a greater waste of time than to leave them go by. (Informant quote)

Securing Control

A perspective modified and strengthened during the practicum was in relation to “securing control.” Awareness of a need for some form of control had been expressed on many occasions by the participants in interview sessions prior to phase III. In fact, worry about being able to “handle the kids” was a source of concern at some time for most of them. A modification of their perspective of control came about as a result of actual teaching experience. Where previously the student teachers had felt that if they were well organized, respectful, just and courteous towards the students and knowledgeable in their subject field they would have few disciplinary problems, actual encounters with some classes of students left them feeling disappointed and at times disillusioned and deceived. The participants quickly came to the realization that the class atmosphere did not depend solely on their preparatory efforts. Many other factors came into play—how the students felt that day, how they themselves felt, what had gone on before, and the influence of the cooperating teacher. Yet the participants were confronted with expectations to exert control.

The emergence of the perspective “securing control” was very closely linked to the participants establishing their teacher identity. Willower, Eidell, and Hoy (1973, p. 42) posit a “relationship between the perceived threat posed by pupils to teacher status and the tendency of teachers to adopt a custodial pupil control ideology.” The student teachers in this study were most susceptible to this tendency. Any action which appeared to threaten their new found teaching identity was met with a move to increase control. This resulted in the adoption of rules by the participants to respond to the situational pressures of the practicum. The rules that insured the maintenance of the perspective of “securing control” included “create a distance” and be “firm but friendly.” These were seen as ways of maintaining control or gaining respect as the participants were apt to use the terms interchangeably.

Increased desire for control was manifested in the choice of classroom management approaches as time went by in the classroom. Typical ways of directing pupil attention and activity ranged from waiting for the pupils to be quiet, ignoring troublesome behavior, staring at students, telling students to get to work, walking in the direction of the students being disruptive, giving verbal warnings to individuals, giving verbal warnings to the whole class, talking to students after class, asking students to leave, and sending students to see the principal. The participants were much more inclined to use the more severe means of handling pupil misbehavior as time went on. When confronted with an actual disciplinary situation, the classroom management approaches used indicated an increasing degree of control and the desire to maintain authority.

Justifying Behavior

As the participants began to increasingly adopt classroom teacher behavior, so they began to justify their actions and attitudes accordingly. The beliefs they had expressed in phase I about the importance of respecting students, attending to individual student needs, being just, and relating to students at their level were transformed in the actual practice of teaching. The participants became increasingly conservative and authoritarian with increased exposure to teaching. What had once been regarded as questionable teaching practices became accepted and even justifiable as students established their teaching identity. Participants made an effort to reduce this dissonance by supplying an explanation and by justifying their behavior in the areas of classroom management and instruction procedures, ways of interacting with students, and discipline.

In justifying their behavior, the participants were quite aware of the disparity that existed between the ideal situation and the reality that they were faced with. Rather than striving to change the reality in accordance with the ideals and values that had been upheld in phase I, the participants tended to make an adaptive shift by acting in accordance with the reality and demands of the situation as perceived. Adapting to the pressures of the given situation and justifying the reasons for doing so served to minimize the disparity in their eyes.

Summary and Discussion

Becoming a teacher was a process of adopting classroom teacher behavior as legitimated by the social reality of the classroom world. It involved learning how to interpret the patterns of behavior of the students, of the cooperating teacher and of the wider school community, of knowing their expectations and adjusting one's behavior accordingly. This involved a shift from the progressive liberal orientation expressed by the participants in phase I to a more conservative, traditional and authoritarian orientation when acting as teacher in phase III. This finding is congruent with research in teacher education which indicates that student teaching may not have the effect counted on (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981; Cohen, 1973; Salzillo & Van Fleet, 1977).

Rather than opening up the prospective practitioners to the possibility of actualizing their emergent value orientations in the public school room, student teaching has instead an illiberal, regressive effect on the participants causing them to become in Spindler's awkward jargon, "re-affirmative traditionalists" (Salzillo & Van Fleet, 1977, p. 28).

Shipman (1967, p. 55) claims that student teachers maintain "two levels of professional attitude, one for official use on stage, and one for use backstage out of official hearing, or later on in the classroom." It is not the belief of the researcher that the participants consciously held two different sets of attitudes. The beliefs expressed were logically consistent with the reality of the moment. The dichotomy between the theory and the practice of teaching as exemplified in the shift in attitudes between phase I and phase III illustrates a dimension of belief systems. Individuals are quite capable of holding different clusters of beliefs in isolation from other clusters. Green (1964, p. 298) in "A Typology of the Teaching Concept" describes the "dimension in every belief system by which certain clusters of beliefs are held more or less in isolation from other clusters and protected from any relationship with other sets of beliefs." The participants in this study held clusters of beliefs relating to the "ideal" situation as opposed to the "real" situation. Contrary views and actions could be held without producing a conflict by virtue of the isolation of clusters. Each cluster was valid and applicable depending on the situation. The practicum was seen as falsifying reality in some way. Though it had the texture of reality, it did not represent the reality of a teacher who had sole responsibility of his classes from day one of the school year. Becker et al. (1961) in their study of student medical culture found that immediate situational pressures constrained behavior in the present but did not necessarily have any effect beyond the situation in which it operates.

For the student teachers in this study, experiencing the self as teacher was often one of accepting the definitions imposed by others. This led to the formation of rules and the evolution of short-run perspectives which can be considered as coping mechanisms—taking the class through the lesson, finding a happy medium, taking the path of least resistance, securing control and justifying behavior. In some instances, to the participants, becoming a teacher meant renouncing parts of their personal selves while acting as teacher in the school setting. By accepting labels

ascribed to the role of teacher as doer—facilitator, implementor, planner, disciplinarian, the student teachers (and possibly teachers at large) accept restricting their experiencing of self to one narrow dimension. Becoming a teacher in this sense can be a growth-inhibiting experience. The student teachers focus on meeting deficiency needs—need to be well prepared, to know their subject matter, to find suitable resources, to be in command—and are unable to focus on growth needs.

It is obvious that the forces of socialization are very powerful in the school setting. Faced with the demands and pressures that are part of the practicum, student teachers will generally accede to the way things are. Expectations of teacher behavior are powerful forces molding the ways teachers view their own behaviors. They come to accept the world of the school as given, unchangeable and predefined. Greene (1978) speaks of the human tendency to accept as absolute what Berger and Luckmann (1966) refer to as the “constructed character of social reality.” If teacher education institutions are not “to become simply an exercise in adopting new personnel into the old patterns” (Salzillo & Van Fleet, 1977, p. 28), teacher educators will have to reflect on the explicit and implicit inferential structures which make up what Schutz (1967) refers to as the “stock of knowledge at hand.” Studies which focus on uncovering knowledge about what is learned in becoming a teacher, offer possibilities for understanding the existential reality of being a teacher. This area of inquiry is a potentially good source for enriching the knowledge base of teacher education programs.

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The Elusive Link: School-Level Responses to School Board Policies¹

This qualitative study of policy implementation in a suburban school district in Western Canada focuses on the activities of central office administrators, and particularly the extent to which their work is effective in promoting policy implementation at the school level.

The policy which was the focus of study was a school board policy on community relations in schools. It was not itself intrinsically motivating for teachers, and the changes it required were resisted. The activities of the central office administrators were not focused at the school level, nor did they address the mutual adaptation and clarification needs which are generally considered very important. Rather, there was reliance on a "logic of confidence," with no follow-up or monitoring. The basic assumptions of the senior administrators predicted the failure of the change process.

However, some school-level factors, particularly the initial reaction of staffs to the policy, seemed to predict implementation. In schools in which community relations were perceived as important, the policy was seen as a means of facilitating the efforts of the school.

Unless the senior administrators actively encourage school-based implementation and become actively involved in the process, implementation is unlikely to occur. In this district, existing school-school district linkages were very weak (although it is reportedly an excellent district), making policy implementation, or indeed any district-wide change, unlikely. The observed loose coupling amounts to a kind of mutual non-interference pact, which appears to be characteristic of stable (as opposed to developmental) school districts.

The governance structure of public school systems is designed to provide elected school board members who are responsible for policy making at the district level.

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This enables them, theoretically at least, to exercise lay and local control of education, by coordination and control of the activities of the professionals. The success of a policy, the extent to which its intent is achieved, however, depends on what happens during implementation, and policy implementation is usually considered to be the domain of district administrators.

Bacharach (1981) suggests that district administrators are faced with two imperatives, one administrative and the other political, and that research has tended to consider each separately, resulting "in the growth of two separate bodies of literature, one focusing primarily on the school board, the superintendent, and the community, the other dealing with the school as an organization, primarily focusing on administrative relationships within the school" (p. 4). A study of policy implementation provides an opportunity (a) to examine another facet of the lay control vs. professional autonomy issue, through the response of the professionals to the policy; and (b) to obtain a dynamic and integrated view of the school district, by focusing not only on activities at the school level, but also on the relationship between the central office and the schools, and the ways in which this influences school activities.

This paper reports some of the findings of a qualitative study of policy implementation in a suburban school district in Western Canada. The study generally concerned itself with assessing the importance of a variety of influences which provide explanations of the level of implementation of provincial and school board policies in schools in the district. Other portions of the study have described school-level influences on policy implementation, and methodological issues (LaRocque, 1983). This paper focuses on linkages between the schools and the central office (school board office) which help to explain the level of implementation of school board policies.

Methodology

Site: The study was conducted in Lytfield² school district. It was chosen because (a) it is similar to other districts in its geographic region and to urban districts in other geographic regions of the province in terms of size, pupil-teacher ratio, average school size, per pupil cost, and administrative structure, all factors frequently considered in implementation studies; and (b) it proved practicable to conduct the study there.

The municipality of Lytfield is located in a heavily populated area in Western Canada. It has a population of over 125,000 people, about 25 percent of whom speak English as a second language. The community is comprised of several distinct neighborhoods which differ in age and a number of socioeconomic status variables. In spite of its heterogeneity, however, Lytfield is relatively free of controversy, especially compared to some of the surrounding communities.

When the study began, there were 45 schools in Lytfield, 36 elementary and 9 secondary, but several were closed at the end of the year. Four of the elementary schools were community schools, and a fifth had just been designated a community school. The number of full-time students had dropped to 18,000 from a high of 20,000 in the late 1970s, although the continuing education program had risen to almost 20,000 registrants. The district employed about 1,100 teachers, 500 continuing education instructors, and 450 non-teaching staff, and had an operating budget of well over 60 million dollars.

The officials included the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent, and the Secretary-Treasurer. These three men comprised the "Administrative Services."

There were two other services in addition to the Administrative Services: the Business Services, consisting of the Secretary-Treasurer and the various senior administrators (i.e., the department managers) under him; and the Education Services, consisting of the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent, the Assistant Superintendent (Secondary Instruction), the Assistant Superintendent (Elementary Instruction), and the Director of Community Education. The Deputy Superintendent had several coordinators working under him, and he was also responsible for the Education Center.

Four schools within the district served as study sites. They were selected so that they differed in size, location, and the manner in which they were implementing the policy under study, and general compliance with district requests, but were judged by district administrators to be typical of the schools in the district. Three of the schools, Thompson, Fraser, and Columbia, were elementary schools; the fourth, Lyttelfield, was a secondary school. Information concerning the selection criteria for each of the study sites is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY SITES

Dimensions	Schools			
	Thompson	Fraser	Columbia	Lyttelfield
Level	elem.	elem.	elem.	sec.
Sector	3	1	2	1
Community Relations	good	good	fair	poor
Advisory Council	active	becoming active	inactive	inactive
Compliance	variable	high	low	high
Participation in the Study	active cooperation	active cooperation	reluctance	passive cooperation

Note: Compiled by authors, mainly from information provided by district administrators.

Policy Focus: The policy chosen for study was a recent Board policy on community relations. This policy requires each school to examine its contact with the community, and to promote two-way communication, specifically by establishing a parent advisory council. The policy was selected because it deals with a matter of common concern in school districts, affects many people, is well-documented, and has been in place for a considerable period of time.

Data Collection: The major data collection method was the interview, both formal and informal. Document analysis and observations of a wide variety of meetings were used as well. Formal interviews were always scheduled ahead of time, were held in locations selected by the respondent (usually an office or classroom), were generally 45 to 90 minutes in length, were audiotaped, and were conducted ac-

according to a flexible interview guide. At the district level, the respondents consisted of those people who were involved in the implementation of the community relations policy; at the school level, the respondents consisted of the principal, the vice-principal or head teacher, and a selected group of teachers.

Informal interviews were generally brief, unscheduled encounters during which information collected during the formal interviews was verified, clarified, or expanded. They were also used to obtain general background information about the context. At the district level the respondents consisted of those who participated in the formal interviews plus other professional and clerical central office staff; at the school level, the respondents consisted of those who participated in the formal interviews plus other staff members and a few parents.

Table 2 provides information about the number of respondents who participated in formal and/or informal interviews, and their role.

The data were recorded and analyzed according to five main research questions (RQ):

- RQ 1. What invariant features of the policy (complexity, specificity, scope) constrained the implementation process?
- RQ 2. What implementation decisions were made, and what conceptualizations of the nature of policy, policy implementation, implementer role and policymaker-policy implementer relationships appeared to influence these decisions?
- RQ 3. What variable aspects of the policy became known during the implementation process? (These included the policymaker-policy implementer relationship, the values and interests of the various actors, implementer cooperation, implementer role, and the implementation process.)
- RQ 4. What relevant local contextual conditions influenced implementation?
- RQ 5. What external changes and episodic events occurred which might have influenced implementation?

Policy Implementation and School District Administrators

Policies in educational governance seem to have two main elements: first, they are “the operational statements of values” (Kogan, 1975, p. 55) and hence form the critical link between the policy realm and the realm of programs and practices. From the perspective of administrators, “policy is the value content of the administrative process” (Shipman, 1969, p. 122). From the perspective of school trustees, whose main responsibility is the “effective transmittal of informed public expectation” (Pitman, 1972, p. 9), policies are the primary means of fulfilling their responsibility to the electorate, and carrying out their mandate. In British Columbia, the *Public Schools Act* makes this link clear: under a section on the General Duties and Powers of School Boards, it specifies that

- 97. The Board of each district shall
 - (a) abide by the provisions of this Act and the regulations;
 - (b) determine local policy in conformity with this Act for the efficient and effective operation of the schools in the school district.

The second element arises from the first. Simon defines a policy as “any general rule that has been laid down in an organization to limit the discretion of subordinates” (1965, p. 59).

TABLE 2
RESPONDENT ROLE

Respondents	<i>Type of Interview</i>	
	Informal	Formal
School Board Members		
Chairman	*	*
Vice-Chairman	*	*
3 Community Relations Committee members	*	*
Other 2	—	—
Central Office professional staff		
Superintendent	*	*
Deputy Superintendent	*	*
Assistant Superintendent - elem.	*	*
Coordinating Principal - elem.	*	*
Coordinating Principal - sec.	*	—
Community Relations Coordinator	*	*
Thompson Elementary		
Principal	*	*
Head teacher	—	*
5 teachers	*	*
9 other teachers	*	—
Secretary	*	—
Community coordinator	*	*
Community coordinator's secretary	*	*
Parent advisory committee	*	—
Fraser Elementary		
Principal	*	*
Head teacher	*	*
7 teachers	*	*
10 other teachers	*	—
Secretary	*	—
Some parents (parent advisory committee)	*	—
Columbia Elementary		
Principal	*	*
Head teacher	*	*
4 teachers	*	*
Other 9 teachers	*	—
Secretary	*	—
Lyttefield Secondary		
Principal	*	*
Vice principal	—	*
12 teachers	—	*
35 other teachers	*	—
Secretary	*	—

Such rules are not usually very specific, and this lack of specificity provides for slippage or even a degree of noncompliance. Downs notes that

the policies of any organization are defined at all levels, not just at the top. . . . At every level, there is a certain discretionary gap between the orders an official receives from above and those he issues downward, and every official is forced to exercise discretion in interpreting his superior's orders. (1967, p. 134)

More recent descriptions of this aspect of educational organizations tend to adopt Weick's description of such organizations as "loosely-coupled" (1976) or Mintzberg's more complete portrait of the professional bureaucracy (1979), with its emphasis on professional autonomy and discretion.

In recent years, in the United States, "policy thrusts from federal, state and local levels have become a primary driving force for school change" (Hall & Loucks, 1982, p. 133). In Canada, too, the face of education has been altered by such policy thrusts or initiatives. For example, the equality of educational opportunity thrust at the provincial level significantly affected educational financing (Coleman, 1977). Although fiscal decisions are a common form of policy decision, and a tool for asserting control over organizations (Mann, 1976), regulations are at least as important. In the United States, PL 94-142 provides the best current example (Hargrove, Graham, Ward, Abernethy, Cunningham, & Vaughn, 1981).

Less obviously, a policy initiative of quite a different kind has had an enormous impact on the schools, in both the United States and Canada. Mitchell and his colleagues argue that

Collective bargaining for public school teachers represents one of the three most significant changes in public education in the last 30 years. Only desegregation with its attendant problems of racial strife, busing, and judicial intervention into school operation—and the advent of large numbers of specialized and categorical aid programs have had a comparable impact on the nature of schooling in America. And collective bargaining may well be the most powerful change of all. (1981, p. 147)

Such bottom-up policy-making runs counter to bureaucratic norms, but is consistent with other features of professional bureaucracy. Lipsky (1978) has argued that in such contexts, policy is made by the people who implement it: one can argue that collective bargaining simply forces administrators and politicians to face up to this fact.

Recently scholars have concluded that the classical/technological model of implementation, in which implementers are viewed as passive consumers, and in which the clarity of the policy, the ability of implementers to carry out instructions, and the means to monitor and ensure compliance are the critical determinants of policy implementation (Edwards & Sharkansky, 1978), is not accurate. Rather, policy-making and policy implementation are seen as interactive processes (McLaughlin, 1976; Radin, 1977). Nakamura and Smallwood's (1980) political model, or the cultural/evolutionary model which seeks to explain implementation in terms of some features of the school affected, are generally considered more satisfactory explanations of level of implementation (Hargrove et al., 1981; Berman & McLaughlin, 1978). Johnson (1981) studied the implementation of teacher contracts in the schools, and found that it too was school-specific, suggesting that the cultural/evolutionary model is broadly applicable to all policies, regardless of origin.

Administrators have frequently asserted the distinction between policy-making and policy implementation as a way of separating out the work of politicians from the work of administrators. Mann reviews this traditional distinction, and finds that it has become "a bastion walling the public out of their schools" (1976, p. 10). It is also false. Two highly regarded civil servants in Canada have commented on it:

Michael Robertson suggests that “any civil servant above clerical or stenographic grades who has spent any considerable time in a job without contributing to the policy he administers should be fired” (1968, p. 2). Mitchell Sharp comments “in this day and age, civil servants do have a profound influence upon the making of policy” (1969, p. 86). In education, Ziegler and Jennings (1974) have concluded from an extensive study of school boards that senior administrators dominate the decision-making process.

Although administrators have always regarded policy implementation as a basic responsibility, little seems to be known about their role in the process. Standard texts in school administration do not deal with the issue directly. For example, Campbell, Cunningham, McPhee, and Nystrand suggest that for the most part, administrators attempt to maintain their organizations as opposed to changing them (1970, p. 224). Hoy and Miskel’s widely used behavioral science-oriented text *Educational Administration* (1982) discusses planned change, but as an administrator responsibility. Knezevich’s text, *Administration of Public Education* (now in its fourth edition; 1984) mentions policy implementation in a chapter heading but not subsequently. Thus there is little reason to believe that administrators, as part of their training, have developed a keen sense of their responsibilities as policy implementers.

However, recent case studies of policy implementation have asserted the critical importance of administrators, both district level and school level, to the success of policy implementation efforts. Berman and McLaughlin (1979) for example, find the activities of the superintendent a critical element in school district adaptability generally.

The attitudes of district administrators about a planned change effort were a “signal” to teachers as to how seriously they should take a special project. The field work offers numerous examples of teachers—many of whom supported the project goals—who decided not to put in the necessary effort simply because they did not feel that district administrators were interested. (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1979, p. 72)

Hargrove et al. (1981) find that school-level differences, associated with principals, account for different levels of implementation of PL 94-142.

Coleman, in a case study of the implementation by a superintendent of a broad-ranging, research-based policy on teacher evaluation, specifies a number of important limitations on the ability of central office administrators to implement radical policies (1982). Fullan provides two case studies and summarizes much of the recent research and concludes “the support of central administrators is critical for change in district practice” (1982, p. 65).

This case study hopes to contribute some further understanding of the ways in which central office administrators interact with schools to influence policy implementation.

Findings and Interpretation

We will now examine the relationship between the district policy, the community relations programs of the four schools, and the implementation strategies utilized by the senior administrators, using the five research questions posed earlier as a framework for analysis. The focus is on how and to what extent the School Board and central office are able to influence implementation activities at the school level. Most of the discussion revolves around the leadership role of the district administrators as policy implementers, and the appropriate division of responsibility between the central office and the school.

RQ 1. Invariant Features of the Policy

The first research question concerns the primary attributes of the policy. This refers to the invariant features such as complexity, specificity, and scope, that constrain the implementation process. The community relations policy requires each school to examine every facet of its contact with the community, and to do what it can to promote two-way communication with the public, including establishing a parent advisory council. The policy is complex, and involves such fundamental aspects of school life as who participates in decision-making, what issues are brought forward for discussion, and the extent of teacher classroom autonomy.

About thirty percent of the teacher interview respondents supported the intent of the policy. They felt that encouraging community involvement was an appropriate and necessary measure for improving the quality of education offered by the schools. In other words, these respondents believed that the goals and assumptions of the community relations policy were compatible with their own. In fact, the existence of authoritative policies on this matter both legitimated and facilitated whatever efforts the respondents had been expending on their own initiative toward this goal. Furthermore, in addition to believing that the policy addressed several problems and offered practical solutions, these respondents derived feelings of challenge and satisfaction from interactions with parents, the kinds of activities advocated by the policy.

The other respondents, however, did not share these attitudes, and in fact had strong reservations about the policy. They did not feel there was a need for the policy and suspected the policy initiators of being politically rather than educationally motivated (that is, of engaging in "vote-getting" behaviors and of trying to "score points with the electorate"). They were particularly concerned with the possibility of parental interference in professional domains. They resented being compelled to engage in activities that they did not consider to be part of their professional responsibilities, and they were worried that the time and effort demanded by policy implementation would diminish the quality of their instructional endeavors. To summarize the position of the majority of the respondents on the policy under study, then, they saw no need for it, judged the goals and assumptions of the policy to be incompatible with their own, and derived no sense of challenge or satisfaction from the kinds of activities advocated by the policy.

Research suggests that teachers are more likely to implement a policy that they consider to: (a) address a real problem or need (McLaughlin & Berman, 1975); (b) offer a solution that is an improvement to the status quo (Common, 1980; Dalin, 1975; Doyle & Ponder, 1977-78); (c) have direct implications for the classroom (Dalin, 1975; Doyle & Ponder, 1977-78; McLaughlin & Berman, 1975); and (d) offer enjoyment, challenge, satisfaction, or some other intrinsic reward (Common, 1980; Doyle & Ponder, 1977-78; McLaughlin & Marsh, 1979). It can be inferred from the interview data, then, that the community relations policy is intrinsically motivating to only a minority of the respondents.

Research also suggests that the closer the beliefs and attitudes inherent in the policy are to existing norms (Common, 1980; Dalin, 1975; Werner, 1980) and the lower the degree of risk involved (Boyd, 1978), the more likely it is that they will be accepted and internalized by the implementers, and the more successful implementation will be. Teachers generally have been found to be resistant to efforts to increase public participation in educational decision-making (Boyd, 1978; Kirst & Walker, 1971) and to efforts to promote a school focus as opposed to a classroom focus (Goodlad, 1983; Lieberman & Miller, 1979; Lortie, 1975), and this proved to be true of the majority of respondents in this study.

In spite of its broad scope and complexity, the community relations policy is relatively unspecific. Implementation is more likely to be successful if the required knowledge and skills are stated explicitly and if the teachers either possess them or are willing to learn them (Common, 1980; Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; Kritek, 1976; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1980). Not only are the required changes in the role behaviors and role relationships not explicated in the policy under study, but the majority of respondents were resistant to any changes in these areas.

To summarize, the community relations policy can be described as broad in scope, complex, and nonspecific. It is not intrinsically motivating to the majority of the respondents; its inherent beliefs and values are not compatible with those of the majority of the respondents; and the changes it demands in role behaviors and role relationships are resisted by the majority of the respondents. This conclusion is supported by both the formal interview data, and the data from other sources. It suggests that the implementation strategies employed by the senior administrators must convince the teachers that there is a need for the policy, demonstrate the ability of the policy to solve the problem, develop in the teachers an acceptance of, and internalization of, the values and goals of the policy, and help the teachers change their role behaviors and role relationships in ways consistent with the policy. In sum, they must encourage and support clarification and mutual adaptation.

*RQ 2. Implementation Decision
and
RQ 5. External and Episodic Events*

The second research question concerns the decisions made by the School Board and senior administrators that bear directly on the implementation process. This refers in particular to the implementation strategies employed, but also to the conceptualizations of the nature of policy, policy implementation, implementer role, and policy maker-policy implementer relationship that influence these decisions. Because external changes that occur during the course of implementation might have an effect on the decision of the senior administrators, the fifth research question is discussed in conjunction with the second. It refers to factors that originate outside the district or that are episodic in nature and that might influence the implementation process.

School Board members were totally responsible for the community relations policy, yet they played a limited role in implementation. They spent several months on developing the policy but not on considering how it should be implemented. That, they felt, quite justifiably in view of the norms regarding the role of the administrator in governance, only to be the job of the Superintendent and his staff. It soon became apparent, however, that the Board had expectations concerning school-level implementation activities and that their expectations were not being fulfilled. The Board hoped that the schools would promote two-way communication with the public by establishing parent advisory councils. They passed several resolutions to this effect, instructing the Superintendent to convey their wishes to the school each time. When this proved ineffective, they finally developed a policy mandating the committees. These actions suggest that the Board members believe that policy development and policy implementation are separate and sequential activities, and that the policy itself is the determinant factor in implementation.

The major strategies utilized by the Board to influence school implementation activities, then, are the issuance of authoritative statements (i.e., policies and resolutions) and reliance on the Superintendent and his staff to ensure compliance with them. This the senior administrators do primarily by disseminating and explaining

the appropriate information, which suggests that they share the Board's view that the policy itself is the determinant factor in implementation. However, they describe their implementation strategies as being based on two major premises: (a) the need to be flexible, in order to allow schools to adapt the policy to their specific circumstances; and (b) the need to "sell" the schools on the policy, to convince them of its merits. This suggests that they are aware of the implications of the invariant characteristics of the policy for the choice of implementation strategies. In fact, the policy statement itself does permit individual adaptation by the schools. Other actions of the senior administrators, however, are not entirely consistent with their intentions.

Normally, new policies are introduced at the monthly principal's meeting for discussion. The introduction of the policy is usually followed some time later with a workshop. This is an implementation strategy favored by the senior administrators and clearly supported by the Board. Since the adoption of the community relations policy, workshops on communicating with the public and on establishing parent advisory councils have been held. In addition, two principals' meetings were devoted to the issue of community relations and the Superintendent talked about the issue in his address to the annual meeting of the Teachers' Association.

All these implementation strategies deal with the school personnel *en masse*. The senior administrators were not involved with school level implementation activities directly, although the school administrator respondents felt that their requests for help or additional resources were met quickly. In other words, it appears that the senior administrators are responsive to the needs of the schools but do not actively lead school level implementation activities. They did not even develop any mechanisms to monitor implementation of the community relations policy.

Board members, however, did attempt to monitor the progress of the implementation of the community relations policy. This was prompted by a personal interest in the policy and by feedback from constituents. For example, on three different occasions the Board became concerned about the status of parent advisory committees and so asked the Superintendent to report on the matter. He, in turn, asked a member of his staff to prepare a survey instrument of three or four broad questions to distribute to the principals. Thus the assessment of the implementation of the policy was based on the self-reports of the implementers.

To summarize, the implementation utilized by the Board and the senior administrators appears to be based on the assumptions that: (a) policy development and policy implementation are separate and sequential activities; (b) the policy statement is the determinant factor in implementation; and (c) once school personnel acquire the necessary knowledge and skills, they can and will successfully implement the policy. In addition, the Board members seem to assume that the district is hierarchically organized, with instructions going from them through the senior administrators to the school personnel, who then comply with the instructions.³ The importance of clarification and mutual adaptation is acknowledged, but little is done to encourage and support these processes.

Moreover, the attitude of the senior administrators to the policy can either reinforce or negate the other implementation strategies. Attitudinal signals from senior administrators, as has already been suggested, are found in previous research to have a critical effect on implementation. In this case, district administrators describe themselves as "men in the middle" who must explain to the principals what the Board wants and to the Board why the schools find it difficult to do what it asks. In this way they bring an adversarial, bargaining stance to policy implementation. They seemed to resolve this dilemma by emphasizing certain aspects of the

policy that are in line with what the schools are already doing. For example, two principals' meetings were devoted to the issue of community relations. They resulted in the conclusion that public relations, i.e., making known what the school does well, is a priority, and that the best PR is a satisfied child. This had the effect of equating community relations with public relations, and public relations with the individual parent-teacher relationship. Then the schools could, and did, argue that they were already meeting the requirements of the community relations policy and so did not have to make any changes.

Few of the teacher respondents had ever read, or were even aware of the original community relations policy. They did know, however, that the district was concerned about community support, and that they learned from their principal and from the Superintendent's address to the annual general meeting of the Teachers' Association. Once again community relations were equated with public relations and the public involvement component was forgotten. This interpretation may have been, in part at least, a response to external events: concern about public support for the schools in a time of declining enrolment, inflation, higher taxes, and increasing unemployment may have resulted in a shift of emphasis from community relations to public relations (thereby appealing to those who do not have children in the schools but who represent an increasing percentage of the taxpayers), and an increase in emphasis on the school's community relations program (thereby appealing to those who do have children in the schools).

It has already been indicated that the senior administrators did not spend a lot of time on planning for implementation. Yet based on their analysis of the Rand findings, McLaughlin and Marsh (1979) concluded that this is important and that school personnel should be involved:

Only the fourth (and more time-consuming) planning strategy, collaborative planning, generated the broad-based institutional support necessary to effective implementation and to continuation of successful practices. Projects adopting this planning style actively engaged both teaching and administrative staff from the proposal period through implementation, thereby gaining consensus and support from teachers, principals, and central office personnel. (p. 74)

The two main points made here by McLaughlin and Marsh were: (a) that the participation of the principals and teachers was based on the notions of partnership and not parity; and (b) that the developmental and implementation activities were interconnected, with plans being continuously adjusted according to the specific circumstances of each school. Contrast this with the situation in the district studied, where principals and teachers sit on district committees as representatives of their respective employee groups, in order to protect their interests, where policy implementation is clearly distinct from, and follows, policy development, and where policy implementation is treated adversarially.

The basic assumptions of senior administrators, and the techniques employed to support implementation, are clearly inconsistent with our current knowledge, and predict the failure of the change process.

RQ 3. Variable Features of the Policy

The third research question concerns the variable features of the policy that become known during the implementation process, and includes the policy maker-policy implementer relationship, the values and interests of the various actors, implementer cooperation, implementer role, and the implementation process.

The community relations policy of the four schools consisted of the same components, but they differed considerably in terms of diversity and comprehensive-

ness. A possible explanation of this phenomenon is that district implementation strategies encouraged adaptation by the schools. This, however, does not seem likely. The senior administrators acknowledged verbally the necessity of a flexible approach, but they utilized implementation strategies that treated the schools identically, and from a distance. A more defensible explanation is that implementation was school-based and school-specific, that is, dependent largely on the extent to which the staff shared norms of collegiality and continuous improvement, and the principal supported the development and maintenance of these norms, and whether the teachers are school-oriented or classroom-oriented (see LaRocque, 1984a & 1984b, for detailed treatment of these school-level variables explaining implementation).

The initial reaction of the school staffs to the policy seemed to determine their future course of action. Acceptance of the policy was related to compliance with it, and nonacceptance to noncompliance, symbolic compliance, or co-optation. For example, community relations was a major concern of the Thompson principal and teachers even before the policy was adopted. Consequently they viewed the policy in a positive light; in fact, the principal saw it as a means of facilitating their efforts, by making funds and other resources more readily available. Because there were established structures and expectations concerning the way the staff worked together to solve common problems, including the improvement of school practices, and the principal actively supported these norms, their efforts to develop a good community relations program were successful (see LaRocque, 1983). A group of teachers who had been transferred recently to Fraser Elementary also considered community relations to be a priority, and they used the existence of district policy on this matter to legitimate their attempts to bring about changes in the school. Although the norms of collegiality and continuous improvement were not well-established at Fraser, the efforts to improve community relations practices provided a vehicle for the development of those norms.

Generally speaking, the Columbia and Lytfield teachers viewed the policy negatively, based on their judgments that the goals and values it espoused were incompatible with their own. The new Lytfield administrators were concerned about community relations in the schools as a whole, but most of the teachers, the majority of whom were classroom-oriented, felt that this was solely a matter for the administrators. Columbia essentially co-opted the policy, by reinterpreting it to conform with school practices so that no changes were necessary. Both Columbia and Lytfield had refused to comply with the parent advisory council policy for several years, and their current compliance was more symbolic than real, addressing the letter rather than the spirit of the policy.

This brief summary of the implementation of the community relations policy at the four schools illustrates that implementer cooperation is not automatic and that effective implementation is characterized by clarification and mutual adaptation at the school level. In addition, there was no support for the view of policy as a set of instructions or a guide for future actions. Policy did facilitate school practices and efforts to improve, and it did legitimate the attempts of some members of a school staff to make changes in school practices. There was also some evidence that policy might exert influence in a third way, by creating a climate of opinion. The respondents felt that there had been more discussion of public relations and parent advisory councils among principals and teachers since adoption of the policy.

Without the deliberate intervention of the senior administrators at the school level, misinterpretation, symbolic compliance, co-optation, and even noncompliance are more likely to occur than mutual adaptation. The principals' meetings provided

the district administrators with an appropriate forum for discussion of the policy aimed at developing an understanding of the purpose of the policies and the implications for practice, that is, conceptual clarity. Instead a typical agenda included such items as the new requisition forms, what to do during the absence of the physical education coordinator, and government funding of immigrant children. Even when the meeting was devoted to the community relations policy, discussion took place in small groups of principals and did not include senior administrators.

It seems, then, that success of policy implementation in a school district depends on the ability of the superintendent and his staff to encourage school-based and school-specific implementation activities but also to remain actively involved in the process at school level in order to monitor it and provide appropriate feedback. Consistent with this approach are the recommendations of Hargrove et al. (1981) that the district staff develop

a coherent implementation strategy. The chief ingredient would be regular conversations between representatives of each group to consider all the schools in each district as schools, that is, as whole entities. . . . Schools should be accorded different treatment depending on performance levels. . . . Quantitative indexes are useful as benchmarks for success as warning signs for lapses but they should be used sparingly. (p. 120)

Similarly, Fullan (1982) provides the following guidelines to the superintendent:

Develop management capabilities of administrators—other district administrators and principals—to lead change. . . . Directly and indirectly (e.g., through principals) provide resources, training, and the clear expectation that schools (teachers, principals, etc.) are the main units of change. . . . Develop with other administrators, school boards and teachers a clear procedure for dealing with change. . . . Monitoring the process is a never-ending requirement. (pp. 178-179)

The implementation of the community relations policy in the school district were not unique events, but reflected central office-school linkages in general. These linkages are the topic of the fourth research question.

RQ 4. Local Contextual Conditions

The fourth research question concerns local contextual conditions that might influence the implementation process. It refers in particular to central office-school linkages.

It is difficult to understand why the linkages between the central office and the schools are as weak as they are. The circumstances under which the Superintendent came to the district may have a bearing on this. At that time the relationship between the senior administrators and the employee groups was characterized by conflict and distrust, and many were concerned about the potentially damaging effect of this situation on the quality of education being offered. The Superintendent felt that he had to establish a more harmonious working relationship in the district. One of his solutions to the problem was to institute a participative policy development process. Another was to speak frequently of the need for collegiality and to urge the principals to involve teachers in school-level decision-making. In support of this, the senior administrators have made available to all principals and some teachers a short, intensive course on the clinical supervision model at district expense. These efforts were intended to diffuse the conflict, foster feelings of trust between the various parties, and promote a sense of common purpose, of working toward common goals.

At the present time there are none of the signs of conflict and distrust that were prevalent less than a decade ago. But this apparent tranquility may be due more to the avoidance of problems than to their resolution, a situation that both results

from and contributes to weak central office-school linkages. The absence of any systematic monitoring procedures of school activities by the central office staff, the manner in which the principals' meetings are conducted, and the expectations that the school personnel have of the senior administrators all suggest that this is the case.

District principals value their autonomy and frequently compare themselves favorably with colleagues in other districts in this respect. Yet most budget, program, and teacher assignment decisions are made centrally. In what sense, then, are the principals autonomous? They describe themselves as "responsible for all the day-to-day decisions in the school," as "free to deal with parents and teachers as we think best," and in general as "running the show at the school." A common theme running through their descriptions is the lack of interference by central office staff in school activities.

The senior administrators, on the other hand, describe a good principal as a "district man." By this they mean someone who (a) completed all paper work (e.g., reports, forms, and the like) correctly and on time, and (b) did his or her share of district committee work. It appears that the principals and district administrators have made a pact according to which the district administrators agree not to interfere in the school, the domain of the principals, if the principals agree to be cooperative. Regarded in this light, the absence of any systematic monitoring is not surprising. First, monitoring would be interpreted as interference by the central office in school affairs. And second, monitoring would reveal that the compliance of the principals is more symbolic than real, which would presumably put the mutual non-interference pact in jeopardy.

One consequence of the lack of monitoring is that it is impossible to assess the significance of the differences between schools. For example, the four schools in the study had very different community relations programs. Were the schools responding to different parent expectations? Did parent satisfaction, both with the community relations program in particular and with the school in general, differ correspondingly? Did some of these programs represent truer implementation of the district policy than others? The senior administrators cannot answer these questions because they have not collected the appropriate data. Instead, their response to all such questions is that the schools in the district are "different, but equal." Yet even this assertion is difficult to support, because there are no data on student achievement, on student, parent, and teacher satisfaction, or on any indicator of school success. The assumption of equality seems to be based on the notion that since all the professionals are experienced and well-qualified, they must be doing a good job.

The manner in which the principals' meetings are conducted also suggests that central office-school linkages are weak. The agenda is set by the two Assistant Superintendents, a secondary principal, and an elementary principal from each of the three sectors. As we saw earlier, the items on the agenda are, for the most part, routine. The Assistant Superintendents chair the first part of the meeting, during which the agenda items are introduced and discussed. The major part of the meeting consists of the small work groups, however, and here the senior administrators have essentially an observational role. They move from group to group and listen to the discussion, but rarely become involved. The work groups are run by and for the principals. Thus, the one opportunity the senior administrators have to clarify the purpose of district policy and discuss their implications for practice with the principals is lost. The principals' meetings seem to be more concerned with maintaining the status quo than with collegial activity focused on improvement.

The third indicator of the weak central office-school linkages is the expectations of the senior administrators held by the respondents. Principals, classroom-oriented teachers, and even school-oriented teachers to some extent, described the role of senior administrators in terms of services to school personnel. So, for example, the principal at Fraser spoke of the fact that his request for teachers who would help him bring about the changes he wanted to make was honored. Similarly, the Thompson principal cited the funds he was given for newsletters and other community relations activities. It was very important to teachers that they could telephone and be able to speak to a senior administrator if necessary. (The most frequently mentioned problem that would prompt a teacher to contact a senior administrator was a class size above the agreed-upon limits.)

All the respondents except one felt that this was a good school district and said that they were glad to be working there. Their reasons were, in order of importance, (a) the good school-central office relationship, (b) the excellent teachers' resource center, and (c) the "lighthouse" teaching and learning conditions contract that had been negotiated. Nearly all the respondents were satisfied with conditions in the district, and they spoke highly of the senior administrators. But none referred to the senior administrators as leaders or as influences on school and classroom practice. Only the school-oriented teachers thought that it was important to have district policy and several, especially those who had worked on a policy development committee, expressed some concern about the lack of compliance with district policy. On the whole, however, the respondents described the activities of the senior administrators and their expectations of them in terms resembling those of classroom-oriented teachers for principals, with the emphasis on the managerial aspects of the role rather than the educational leadership aspects.

Concluding Comments

There have been relatively few studies of central office-school linkages. Two approaches to this issue seem useful in understanding events in this district and both are based on Weick's (1976) notion of loose-coupling. The first conceptualizes education systems as organizational myths (see Meyer & Rowan, 1977, 1978; and Rowan, 1981 for an elaboration of this theory). According to this perspective

organizations whose structures become isomorphic with the myths of the institutional environment—in contrast with those primarily structured by the demands of technical production and exchange—decrease internal coordination and control in order to maintain legitimacy. In place of coordination, inspection, and evaluation, a logic of confidence and good faith is employed. (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 341)

Thus school systems are coordinated by certification and categorization of persons and activities—they specify who is qualified to teach what to whom. The system is maintained by the logic of confidence or faith that there are clear and commonly shared definitions of what should be happening at different grade levels and in different subject areas, and that all certified personnel adhere to these conventions. The district staff, then, certifies and categorizes, and demonstrates to the public that these activities are conducted according to its wishes. The school is thus free to conduct instruction as it deems appropriate for its specific circumstances. Meyer and Rowan argue that this loose coupling allows the system to appear to be responding to a complex and fragmented environment while protecting the school from the disruptive effects of the environment. Metz (1981) utilized this conceptualization of educational systems to interpret events in one district.

This conceptualization does account for the weak central office-school linkages in the district under study. The argument for the beneficial effects of such loose-

coupling, however, is itself based on a logic of confidence that schools are generally doing a good job. But some recent studies (reviewed by Mackenzie, 1983) have shown that this is not the case—some schools are much more effective than others. Berman and McLaughlin's (1979) distinction between maintenance and developmental districts seems to be a more appropriate, and useful, way of conceptualizing the relationship between central office and schools, because it takes into consideration the responsibility of district administrators to promote the effectiveness of each school and to ensure compliance with district policy.

According to Berman and McLaughlin, maintenance districts are characterized by delivery uniformity, loose coupling and symbolic compliance, subordination of delivery concerns to political and bureaucratic concerns, closed boundaries, and a resistance to change. Developmental districts, on the other hand, are characterized by delivery diversity, integrated loose coupling, primacy of delivery concerns, boundary openness, and acceptance of the necessity of change. In maintenance districts implementation is not routinized but is in fact disruptive of daily routines; in developmental districts implementation is institutionalized, and is supported by existing norms and structures.

Clearly this district can be described as a maintenance district. Because central office-school linkages are weak, symbolic compliance and even non-compliance at the school level exists. In such a school district, the following descriptions of the activities of central office administrators are likely to be appropriate:

1. Senior administrators do not give clear signals regarding their expectations;
2. A kind of mutual non-interference pact exists between the central office and the schools, in which neither party makes demands on the other;
3. No monitoring of school activities or effectiveness occurs;
4. Senior administrators do not work cooperatively with principals to implement school level change.

Case studies of the kind reported here are inherently not very generalizable. However, the Berman and McLaughlin typology incorporates the district described here very readily, despite cultural differences between Canadian and American parents, teachers, and school trustees. In our view the key determiner of district status within the typology is the professional value system of the senior administrator. The transactional/transformational leadership styles described in Coleman's (1982) policy implementation case study are probably associated with maintenance/developmental districts. Further, in districts such as Lytfield the implementation of school board policies is not very likely, thus subverting the lay and local control ideology fundamental to educational governance in Western Canada. Low acceptance of lay control may also characterize maintenance-oriented administrators.

We believe that this case study, and the Berman and McLaughlin typology, provide some interesting parallels with the effective schools research. For example, Goodlad's (1983) adaptive school may parallel the developmental district; Leithwood and Montgomery's (1982) careful characterization of effective versus typical principals may help us to describe developmental versus maintenance administrators; Little's (1982) norm of continuous improvement may help to clarify the value orientation promoted in developmental districts; and Mackenzie's (1983) research summary might well provide a comprehensive description of characteristics of developmental districts.

For us, and we hope for others, the main value of this case study is in its contribution to the theoretical basis needed to support subsequent research on the effective school district, which we believe might be essential to support and broaden current work on school improvement.

Notes

1. The research project described here was funded by the Educational Research Institute of British Columbia and by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
2. All names used in this report, including those of the district and the schools, are pseudonyms.
3. The assumptions are essentially those appropriate for "machine bureaucracies," and not "professional bureaucracies" (Mintzberg, 1979).

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE RESEARCH PROCESS IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS: TEN CASE STUDIES. *Edited by Robert G. Burgess.* The Falmer Press, 1984, 275 pp.

The ten contributions to this book were originally presented to a two day workshop in London in 1982 on the ethnography of educational settings. Each of the presenters was a central participant in a major ethnographic study, and the papers consist of their reflections on the process of carrying out the work. In some cases, the studies were done as doctoral projects, while in others the research was funded by the United Kingdom's SSRC (approximately equivalent to Canada's SSHRC). The studies are not described in detail. But in all cases, sufficient background is given so that the reader has no difficulty in understanding either the context or the commentary.

It is impossible to do justice to each of the papers in this review, so an attempt will be made to comment on recurring themes, and to point out some of the highlights. Each author has at least one interesting thing to say and, as a set, the papers provide a valuable addition to the methodological literature especially to those of us in North America who have not kept abreast of developments in the United Kingdom. As in any collection of a similar nature, I found the quality of papers to be uneven in both content and style, and I suspect that others will find the same to be true. However, I predict that papers which find favor with one reader will not be those that are on another's list of favorites. In short, there is an idiosyncratic quality about the papers that will make the set attractive to a wide audience.

Some of the papers refer to research that was carried out almost 20 years ago, and I found these to be less interesting than later works. Perhaps there is a kind of self-indulgence about reporting on old work that leaves me cold. For example, Delamont's chapter 1 is based on research which began in 1968, and contains a lot of material that seems more of a fond remembrance of graduate school than of a contribution. Again, I am sure that some readers will resonate to the paper and see some of their own struggles reflected therein. At the very least some editing may have improved this and other presentations.

In some of the papers, the teachers and administrators are treated with a patronizing tone. Indeed in Ball's chapter 3, mention is even made of this risk. I found a lack of genuine empathy for the task of the teachers who were likely trying to do a job as best they could under what might have been less than ideal circumstances. Having an extra body in the classroom watching your every move is not always the most relaxing experience, especially when there may be no obvious sign of understanding on the part of the observer. To be fair, what I have construed as an attitude or tone, may be a result of reconstruction rather than a reflection of the

events of the time. The point of the papers was to provide portrayals of the research as seen from the perspective of the researcher and the subtle arrogance may not have either existed at the time, or it may have been imperceptible.

There is a kind of “in-groupness” that occurs occasionally that some readers may find irritating. Names are dropped without explaining their importance, “Charles Jones taught me how to prepare punch cards” (p. 29). References are made that assume a shared knowledge with the audience of readers that may be unwarranted “Immediately after completing work on E202, I joined the course team of a research methods course (DE304)” (p. 59). Some may put such things down to poor editing in going from oral presentations to book form, but others will find that they are the personal touches that help the reader to see that the presenters were people struggling with research problems, and that these problems had to be solved in the context of day-to-day work. I tended to fall in the latter camp. Even at those times when I wanted to cry out in annoyance with some self-centered, self-serving comment, I never once thought that the material should have been revised.

In spite of the minor negative points noted above, there were excellent insights to be gleaned about the conduct of qualitative research in educational settings. Two points exemplify this for me. In chapter 8, Rudduck describes Stenhouse’s distinction between case studies and case records. The distinction is an important methodological suggestion since the case record would seem to provide the vehicle for allowing others access to the fundamental materials which is so necessary if debate is to take place, and knowledge is to cumulate from ethnographic research. In an area where lust for interpretation has almost exceeded the desire to observe, documentation through case records will open up the debate to non-participants, and perhaps provide an important counterbalance to unbridled creativity.

In Atkinson’s chapter 7, an excellent case is made for the ethnographer’s need to know something about the field being observed. To understand how young medical doctors learn about medicine requires an understanding of medical concepts. Many ethnographers of education concentrate on the personalities and the politics of the setting, and barely mention that a lot (perhaps most) of education has to do with content. Understanding the process of transmission would surely be helped by understanding the material being transmitted.

Ten Case Studies is an excellent source for the beginner, an interesting book for the dabbler in qualitative methods of research, and the expert will appreciate the reflections of knowledgeable colleagues. It is a book that is fun to read. If you are going to take one bit of academic reading on your next vacation, this would be an excellent choice.

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PARADIGM AND IDEOLOGY IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE INTELLECTUAL. *By Thomas S. Popkewitz.* London and New York: The Falmer Press, 1984. 208 pp.

During the past three or four decades there has been a strong move to professionalize the study and practice of public education in North America. Teacher education has been moved to the universities, to the milieu in which other professionals are prepared; the length and challenge of programs have been greatly increased; and graduate study in education is widely accepted. Expectations for professors of education have also risen, so that today the doctorate is a minimum qualification, and continuing research and scholarship are mandatory for advancement and recognition. These thrusts have profoundly altered education, both as to "scientific" study and research-based methodology.

In this process education has found its base in the social and behavioral sciences, particularly psychology and sociology. These sciences have themselves experienced significant growth and change. To a large extent the changes have been modelled on the physical and biological sciences. Because the natural sciences have been so successful in gaining understanding and control of natural phenomena, their philosophical and methodological bases have been generally adopted. This has meant that empiricism, with its emphasis on objective evidence, controlled experiment and mathematical measurement and analysis, has been dominant. In emulating the natural sciences, the social sciences sought for general laws through empirical research, and have tried to apply knowledge in socially useful ways. The applied discipline of education has followed suit.

The results in education have been extensive, but sometimes disturbing. Few would deny that the emphasis on scholarship and understanding has affected the extent and quality of schooling for children. Few would deny the importance of raising the professional status of school people and educators in general. But some would express reservation about the consequences of accepting unbridled empiricism as the driving force of educational study and practice. Such a commitment has left too little room for contributions from major branches of philosophy such as ethics, esthetics, metaphysics, and from other areas of the arts and humanities. Even where such questions as ethics and morals are examined, it is mainly as objective phenomena to be analyzed and described, rather than as integral aspects of human living to be accepted and celebrated. And this, of course, has raised the epistemological issue of what can be considered to be valid knowledge in the discipline.

Although there have always been voices raised in protest against positivist approaches, they have been muted and often drowned out by the louder chorus of popular consensus. Recently, however, encouraged by European scholarship in sociology of knowledge, hermeneutics and critical analysis, the protesting voices have become stronger. There has been a growing disaffection with naked empiricism in the study of human behavior, and a resurgence of the study of philosophy and philosophic analysis of the bases and assumptions of current methods and commitments. It is being shown that, far from being objective and neutral in generating knowledge, empiricism is deeply affected by context, by conditions of time and place, and by prevailing political and social milieux, and that many of the tenets of empiricism are really social and cultural artifacts.

Among the scholars who are raising questions about present and past positivist emphases in the study of, and research in, education, is Thomas S. Popkewitz. His recent book *Paradigm and Ideology in Educational Research*, with the subtitle *The*

Social Functions of the Intellectual, is part of a growing literature protesting the narrowness, and even basic error, of the empiricist domination of educational research.

Popkewitz states the purpose of his book as follows:

To explore the social location and contradictions of social science. It is to probe how social assumptions, cultural location and political interests become intricately tied to conceptual, procedural and design questions. These issues are given focus through case studies in American and Soviet pedagogical research and evaluation. These research communities provide a specific historical context to consider the larger sociological issues of social science and the social role of the intellectual. . . . It is directed to professionals, academics and students interested in critical analysis of social institutions. (p. viii)

A theme of this book is that social science is a response to the interaction and conflict among a variety of intellectual traditions. To understand these research traditions and their implications, there must be inquiry into the social, political and epistemological assumptions that shape, and fashion the activities and outcomes of research. (p. 2)

The book falls into three main sections: (1) the preface and first chapter, titled "Educational Research: Ideologies and Visions of Social Order"; (2) Part I titled "Science as Discourse and Interest"; and Part II titled "Roles of the Intellectual in Contemporary Society."

The first section is a statement of the author's position, as a sociologist of knowledge, relative to the social sciences, research and knowledge in general. Knowledge, he maintains, is not independent or objective, but rather very much related to the intellectual and research community in which it is developed. Since knowledge is intelligible only in terms of the "conceptual lenses" through which it is viewed, it is essential that the underlying assumptions, the historical and philosophical antecedents and the intellectual traditions operating be clearly recognized and understood.

The second section "Science as Discourse and Interest" contains a general treatment of paradigmatic thought in educational science, a review of Soviet pedagogical sciences and an introduction to qualitative research. Popkewitz points out the extent to which the positivist view of social science, with its detachment from moral and ethical questions, and its movement toward mathematical languages and analysis has dominated thought in America, Australia and, to some extent, Britain. As a result the more general definition of empirical seems to have given way to the narrower meaning of "empirical" as "quantifiable," and that problems of statistical rigor and procedure are paramount (p. 31).

Although the positivist approach came under criticism by such people as Max Weber, Carl Becker and Alfred Shutz as early as 1900, no change was effected until the 1970s. Popkewitz proposes the interesting explanation that the earlier critiques came at a time when the Chicago School of Behavioral Analysis and the work of Talcott Parsons at Harvard were at their height. Graduates from the two institutions dominated social study into the 1960s. Thus, it was only after this time that the work of phenomenologists, Marx and social philosophers could be reintroduced into the mainstream of North American social inquiry. This is a persuasive illustration of how a particular research tradition can predominate in an intellectual community.

The third section of the book "Roles of the Intellectual in Contemporary Society" details such topics as (1) The Development of the American Academic Expert; (2) Motion as Educational Change; (3) Educational Evaluation as Political Form; and (4) The Researcher as a Social Factor. Popkewitz gives specific illustrations of

how pedagogical research and practice have developed historically in response to social demand for usable knowledge. This response, he shows, affected the rise of professional schools in universities. With the support of, and active promotion by, philanthropists and foundations, the social sciences became professionalized, and the academic intellectual assumed a position of some importance and influence.

Popkewitz makes some penetrating analyses of "theoretical" work in education, and the ways in which it has been applied. For instance, he suggests that studies in educational change that were originally intended as attempts to understand human behavior or regularities, have become a technology "to serve organizational purposes to manage our social conditions" (p. 133). In the chapter dealing with evaluation in education, Popkewitz shows how the emergence of evaluation as a specialized subdiscipline has come to complement and legitimate policy-making imperatives (p. 165) and cautions that

to remove scientific procedures from their self-correcting communities and give them a life of their own is to unwittingly crystalize the procedures *and their values*. To borrow procedures without giving attention to the substantive assumptions of their use is to make the enterprise technical in quality. (Emphasis theirs) (p. 166)

The reader, particularly the reader committed to the positivist tradition in educational research and practice, will find this a challenging book. In the discussion of specific topics Popkewitz peels away layers of conventional understanding and description to lay bare the essence of particular concepts and practices. In that unadorned form, they lose some of their former credibility. For the reader who has felt a vague uneasiness with many of the current practices in schools and in research methodologies, but was unable to articulate that uneasiness, this book will provide some welcome alternatives.

The positivist approach is no longer sufficient for understanding so complex a phenomenon as the learning-teaching-administering interrelationship; the behaviorist strategy is inadequate as the psychological base; and the structuralist paradigm is not adequate as the framework for designing educational organizations. The transition from these paradigms, however, will be slow and painful, for the alternate structures and approaches have not yet been fully developed.

It would be appropriate to use this book as an introductory text for courses in research methods, for it helps to show the complexity of social science research, "in which data collection techniques assume meaning and significance only in relation to assumptions of the larger intellectual traditions in which the techniques are applied" (p. ix). This text discusses those contexts and thereby counterbalances some of the purely empirical emphases of many conventional courses in educational research methods.

Popkewitz has produced an important book. It should be required reading for students of education: those who think of themselves as researchers and/or theorists. It is especially important reading for those who purport to be policy-makers, or who are advisors to policy-makers. The analyses made and the insights presented will help to broaden the base for dealing with policy issues, and inevitably for developing criteria for assessing the policies and practices flowing from them.

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